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Pro-Slavery.

From the New Orleans Commercial Times.

CURIOUS CHANGE IN TWENTY-FIVE YEARS. ABOLITIONISM.

The good people at the North, who have interested themselves in the Slavery question, are suddenly awakening into astonishment, at the singular change that has come over public opinion, within the last quarter of a century, with regard to the Slavery question. They have all at once called up the excitement which was rife on the *Missouri question*; and rubbing their eyes, exclaim—"What is the reason there is not the same opposition to the admission of Texas, as a slave State, that there was to Missouri?" The only objection urged against Missouri, was its slaves; and the discussion, consequent thereon, came near destroying the country. So determined were the different parties not to yield, that propositions to dissolve the Union were entertained by a large body in the House of Representatives, from the southern portion of the Union. The storm was quelled, however, by the patriotism of a few of our great statesmen, and all became again the most perfect peace.

It may not be amiss to call up the action of Congress, at the time Missouri asserted her claims to become a sovereign State. In the House of Representatives, 1818, '19, we find the following resolutions inserted in the bill "of admission":

"That the further introduction of Slavery, or involuntary servitude, be prohibited, except for punishment of crimes whereof the party shall have been fully convicted." Yeas 87, nays 76.

"And that all children born within said State, after the admission thereof into the Union, shall be free after the age of twenty-five years." Yeas 82, nays 78.

The final action of the House to incorporate these resolutions in the bill was, yeas 91, nays 82.

Missouri refused to be admitted, with any such restrictions: she claimed to be a slave State, and threatened to organize a State Government without authority of Congress. Popular assemblies convened in all parts of the country, to debate the question, adopt resolutions, and originate petitions to Congress. The press opened its warfare, pamphleteers filled the land; the Legislatures of the different States took up the subject, and sent to Congress their sovereign expression, according to their local feelings and prejudices, and the whole country was one blaze of excitement.

Twenty-five years pass away, and Texas comes into the Union without any excitement, possessing more objectionable features—if they are objectionable—than Missouri. There is not even a debate regarding the propriety of the admission. The question has arisen, what is the reason of this change in public opinion? The *New-York Courier & Enquirer*, a paper that deserves the highest consideration in the South, for its consistent support of our constitutional rights, has given an answer in the following extract from its columns:

"This fact is frequently cited, (the fact of no opposition being made to the admission of Texas,) as evidence that the public sense of justice and right among our people has lost its force; that the 'Slave-power' has become predominant; and that the North, in the choice language of many who write and speak upon this subject, has truckled to the South. We do not so regard it. The backward tendency of public sentiment upon this subject, which the difference referred to makes abundantly manifest, is in our view to be attributed to the efforts of the *Abolitionists*. In 1820 this factious party had no existence. The policy of making Slavery an effective weapon of partisan warfare, had not been discovered, or the people were too honest, and too sincere in their attachment to the Constitution, thus to use it. The thoughts of all at the North were directed to it, as an evil greatly to be deplored; and to be removed only by the wisest and most judicious measures. The rights, the safety, the prejudices even of the South were treated with respect:—and the Constitution of the country was universally regarded as the paramount law of the land, and therefore to be obeyed in its compromises and concessions, as well as in its other provisions. Opposition to Slavery was thus a conscientious conviction, the result of sober reflection. The system was considered calmly, and in the light of judgment, and not of passion.—Measures to free the country from it were in progress, and had been devised and guided by wisdom and prudence. The natural result was that, when any measure was proposed which looked toward a still further extension of Slavery, it aroused the feelings, and encountered the opposition of the entire North. It violated a conviction of right, which had been calmly and deliberately formed, and which, therefore, was not easily to be shaken.

"Since that time, the subject has been made the occasion of party strife. Instead of leaving men to form their opinions under the guidance of judgment and conscience, the discipline of party has been applied. Instead of looking upon the matter as one demanding wisdom and discretion for its adjustment, the most violent and senseless steps have been taken; special pains have been taken to arouse one section of the Union against another; jealousy, enmity, and the most malignant hatred, have been sedulously cherished and excited; outrages upon property and personal rights have been committed and justified; no pains have been spared to involve the two sections of the Union in conflict; and the attempt is at last openly and avowedly made to divide the Union, to plunge us into war, and indeed to court any extreme of horror and of blood, in order to rid the North of its alleged connection with the Slavery of the Southern States.

"The opposition to Slavery which, though earnest, once was calm and considerate, has become identified with reasonless, passionate, destructive *fanaticism*. It has exchanged its weapons of reason and judgment, for the torch of the incendiary. It has thus forfeited its claim upon the respect of men, and has become simply the tool of demagogues, and as such, the curse of the country. The great mass of those whose dislike of Slavery is earnest and decided, because grounded upon reason and their best judgment, have been driven from the field by these fierce madmen, and have therefore only to await the progress of events. This, we believe, will continue to be the effect of the continued agitation of this subject by the Abolitionists of the North. Great and incontestible as is the evil of Slavery, it is still infinitely less than the alternative the Abolitionists offer. And their persistence in the war they are waging, will only drive the South into new provisions for self-defence, and the country into new safeguards against its own destruction. So long as they continue their present career, they can never expect the co-operation of the people, even of the Northern States—even upon those questions which would seem most likely to unite the opinions and the action of all."

From the True Wesleyan.

MR. STEPHEN S. FOSTER AND WIFE.

DEAR BROTHER LEE:—I ask a place in your paper for a brief notice of the gentleman and lady, whose names stand at the head of this article. They were in our city about two months ago, and are now here on a visit; and having had an opportunity to hear them frequently, I feel that I owe it to the friends of the slave, and especially the members of our own connection, to expose those disguised infidels. But in doing this, I wish to be distinctly understood, that I do not objectto infidels, or any other errorists, laboring for the slave; but I do object to making the Anti-Slavery platform the means of propagating infidelity. This is what I object to in Mr. Foster. His private opinions are private property—not to be arraigned before the public; his public lectures belong to the public. In his lectures he says many excellent things—things calculated to do much good, but, with these good things, he pours forth the poison of death, and by their union with it, secures the reception of the deadly draught.

On last Sabbath afternoon, he lectured in our place of worship; and in his lecture, argued, that the whole of Christianity consisted in visiting the widow, and fatherless, in their afflictions, and keeping ourselves unspotted from the world, &c. 1st. To do good to all objects of distress. 2d. To have no connection with any wicked associations, or persons. These were its positive and negative parts, and all its parts. That *praying in public, singing, going to meeting on the Sabbath day, preaching, and public worship, baptism, sacraments*, and *faith*, were no *parts of Christianity*; that *all these stood in the way of pure and undefiled Christianity, and the freedom of the slave*. That *singing, praying, going to meeting, &c.* would be of no moment at the day of judgment; but *feeding the hungry, clothing the naked*, &c. would be the *only matters that would weigh then and there*; and weighed, too, in opposition to *singing, praying, faith, baptisms, sacraments, &c.*

I gave out at the close of his lecture, that I would review his lecture at night in my sermon. I did so; he was present. I showed that all he had said in favor of good works, considered as a part, and an essential part too of Christianity, was true; that he could not say too much in favor of these; but they were only a part of Christianity. I also contended that pro-slavery religion, and false Christianity, was even worse than he had made it out; but that to preach up a part of Christianity to the exclusion and rejection of the other parts, was one of the most ingenious, as well as the most successful devices of infidelity; and that Mr. Foster had done this very thing. I defined Christianity to consist in believing what God requires us to believe; and doing what he requires to be done; that we could no more be Christians without *faith in Christ*, than without lives of holy obedience; that man was a depraved and guilty being, and could not be pardoned and regenerated, and thus prepared to live a holy life, without faith in the Redeemer of the world; and because Mr. Foster rejected *faith in the atonement of Jesus Christ*, and the commanded worship of God, I esteemed his lecture dangerous in the extreme; and that he had perverted the Anti-Slavery platform to the service of infidelity.

On Monday he replied. He complained bitterly on account of being called an infidel, went over the same ground he had the day before, but kept out of sight as much as possible my objections. This I noticed, which called from him a second defence, in which he threw off his disguise, and proclaimed that the doctrine of pardon through the blood, or atonement of Christ—justification by faith, was a priestly indulgence for sin of the basest sort, gotten up by corrupt priests to quiet the consciences of their hearers while living in the practice of the basest and vilest sins; that it was subversive of, and opposed to holy living; that we derived the same advantage from the death of Paul, or Peter, that we did from the death of Christ; that the Old Testament was no part of the Christian Scriptures; that the whole of the New could not be received; that the teachings of Christ, and not the Apostles, except as far as they agreed with Christ's, were of authority. He said Christians could spend their Sabbath at home, making clothes for the poor, or circulating books, and tracts, and not waste it going to church, singing, praying, baptism, and sacraments, &c.

He kept this last thing hid, *i. e* faith in Christ, as the fruitful source of wickedness, until he was hard pressed; but when he did come out in full, his wife came to his aid, and fully concurred with him, in all he said, and thus they both proved themselves infidels of the muddiest water. Mr. Foster said that the Church had been the most corrupt body of men in all ages, and had always supported Slavery—had always been on the side of oppression: that all our church worship must be swept away, before the world could be reformed. I again say, I do not object to Mr. Foster, or any other person, holding these sentiments, or even worse ones, if worse can be, advocating the cause of the slave; but to his, or their using the Anti-Slavery platform, for the propagation of them. This, Mr. Foster did do in this city, first, covertly, then more openly, and at last without disguise. But I have the most objection to the covert presentation of them, as the deadly poison is, in this way, more readily diffused, and this is the way I fear, they generally do it.

I have felt it my duty to make this expose, that the friends of the slave may be on their guard, and that the Wesleyan Methodists, who will be most likely to favor them, because they expose the evil of pro-slavery religion, which thing we also hate, may know that they are not only opposed to pro-slavery churches, but to all churches; that they labor to overthrow all churches, and to sweep from the earth the *worship of God*, to make room for the service of man. I have stated the positions advocated by Mr. Foster; I call them infidel; but others may judge for themselves. E. SMITH.

PITTSBURGH, Pa. April 15, 1846.

P. S.—I have just heard him deliver another lecture shockingly abusive of all religion, and highly eulogistic of a "Christianity," which rejects Christ, and the worship of God. E. S.

Selections.

From the Western Citizen.

EMANCIPATION IN THE WEST INDIES.

BROTHER EASTMAN:—I regret that circumstances should so long have interrupted our correspondence, and I rejoice that some of the obstacles are being in a measure removed, so that I can communicate my thoughts on paper with much less pain and agitation than for many months past. The state of my health has been such, for nearly a year past, that I have been obliged to avoid letter-writing as much as possible, but the indisposition which my body has suffered, has not lessened my attachment to the cause of the poor slave.

My last communication was directed to Dr. Bailey, of Cincinnati, containing an account of my shipwreck on the coast of Jamaica. The further history of incidents and information obtained on my journey, remain to be detailed. After remaining eighteen hours on the wreck, in a state of extreme anxiety, fearing that every stroke which our vessel made upon the rocks would terminate our hopes of safety, we were relieved by placing ourselves and baggage, in a canoe managed by negroes, and taken over the foaming billows to a drogger, (or sloop,) a mile or two at sea, and thence taken into Port Moraut, and on board the English barque, Ada, from London, William Stone, master; where we received the most kind and hospitable treatment which could well be shown. The transition from a state of extreme anxiety and fear, to a condition of perfect safety and tranquillity, produced a feeling of enjoyment, such as none can know but by experience, and which I trust will never be effaced from my memory. The second day we were invited on shore to spend a few days with Captain John Aris, a gentleman from Spanishtown, the seat of Government. With him was a physician by the name of Morales, who was associated with Mr. Aris in their Legislature, which had then just closed its session. My tarry with these gentlemen, for five days, was very pleasant and instructive. From them I learned much of the working of emancipation, and the old customs of Slavery. They expressed themselves decidedly in favor of emancipation. Mr. Aris remarked that it was never right to give one man irresponsible power over another; that the master would find many things to vex and harass his feelings, and in his moments of excitement, he would forget that the slave was a human being, and deal out punishment in a most cruel and inhuman manner; the effect was dreadful to both parties. The manner of effecting emancipation, he thought, might be improved, but did not appear to know the way exactly to bring it about; he thought the children might be freed, and the adults be required a certain training to prepare them for usefulness when free, &c. &c. He spoke favorably of their improvement generally, since emancipation. He was then on an estate which had been "thrown up" by the old proprietors, and which he had recently purchased. He told me that he had sold several little patches, of about an acre each, to some two or three persons who had resided there since the days of Slavery. He received from fifty to seventy-five dollars from them, as the lots varied in size. This was a matter of policy to keep the people on the estate, as there is a portion of the time when the estates do not require all the hands to labor, and then they will cultivate their little patches, and raise provisions for market. The colored population are much inclined to purchase land for themselves, and increase their comforts, and improve their manner of living. It would be well to notice some facts which go to silence certain false prophecies in relation to the results of emancipation.

1st. "The slave, remembering the cruelties of his master, if set free, would seek revenge, and the master would have his throat cut." No instance of this kind, nor anything bordering upon it, has yet been known in the Island, nor among the eight hundred thousand who were freed in the several West India Islands. The blacks are the principle guards on the Island.

2d. "The blacks must be sent off, for the whites will never consent to remain with them in a state of freedom." No position assumed against emancipation has proved more false than this. The blacks neither feel the least inclination to leave the Island, nor do the whites feel willing that they should. The first year or two after emancipation, there was an effort made to induce American free blacks to go out to the Island as laborers; the plan was tried, and proved an entire failure. Several were induced to go out on trial, but I could not learn of any that remained. Indeed, it must be a very weak and foolish negro, who would be willing to leave the fertile soil of America, with all its disadvantages even, and go to Jamaica or Liberia, to labor for twenty to twenty-five cents per day, and board themselves. There are many disadvantages there, too numerous to mention. The plan of importing Hill Coolies from the East Indies, is now under trial; £75,000, ($375,000,) were appropriated by the Legislature last season for this purpose. The plan was thought a visionary one by many who were considered men of good judgment. The emancipation act gave to the slave his political rights, and he can go to the polls and feel that he has the privilege of voting for the best men to enact his laws. This would at first view seem somewhat dangerous, as the blacks were so much more numerous than the whites, that they might exclude the whites from the Legislative halls; but this was not the fact. The two gentlemen, Messrs. Aris and Morales, were run in opposition to colored persons, and their competitors attempted to get up a prejudice on account of the color of the skin, but it was repulsed by the blacks with the remark—"these men we know, and can trust them; we don't know you; we shall vote for men who will do our business right." Fourteen out of forty-eight of the members of the Legislature were men of color, and I heard no reproach cast upon them for the color of their skin, or for any other cause; indeed it was acknowledged by the white members, that they maintained a very respectable standing in that body, and some of them were qualified and took a prominent part in the business transactions. It should be remembered that the members of the Legislature in that country receive no compensation for their services as legislators. They pay their own expenses, and give their own time: the two together form no inconsiderable item of expense. The consequence of such an arrangement is, to keep the Government in the hands of an aristocracy. Prejudices on account of the color of the skin, appear to have become extinct. I neither saw nor heard of any instance of ill treatment towards any one, on account of his color. Distinction on account of the condition, is the same as it ever was; if a person is a servant, he is treated as such, and is not admitted into society in a higher capacity. Servants in some respects are treated with more respect than is usual in this country. It is common to address them with the title of Mr. Mrs. or Miss, as the case might be, and the manner of expression, so far as I had an opportunity of judging, exhibited a spirit of kindness towards the servant, and as such it was received.

3d. "Amalgamation of the two classes by marriage," is always held up as an insuperable objection to emancipation. This subject I do not recollect of hearing once named while on the Island. I did think of it, but felt that a question of that sort would look just about as *green* as to inquire in this country whether the Irish, the Germans, and other foreigners, married with the Americans, and at the same time express a doubt about the propriety of it. The fact is this, a man must have some merit of his own, or if a stranger, he must have the recommend from persons of established credit, in order to get into respectable society at all; and with such credentials, the color of the skin, the shape of his head, or any peculiar odor, either natural or artificial, does not hinder him from enjoying the best of society. It is quite common, and perhaps a majority of cases, where persons call for meals at the public houses, black and white sit at the same table, on terms of perfect familiarity. Ladies and gentlemen walk the streets and ride out together, just as if the color of the skin was but skin deep, and effected not the character. The city of Kingston is the largest on the Island, and I think larger than any on the West India Islands. They have a large police, and I think about two-thirds of them are black. The clerk of their highest court is a black man. One of the most flourishing papers published in the city, is edited by a gentleman of color; and if ladies and gentlemen of different complexions marry together, it is simply a matter of choice between the two parties, and no one dreams of condemning their issue to slavery interminable for thus violating the laws of nature in the sin of their parents. I did not learn of any particular instances of this kind, and am fully persuaded that there is less amalgamation than in the days of Slavery.

4th. "Slaves are poor creatures, and if freed, cannot take care of themselves." This objection died when Slavery died, and no one there thinks of naming that as a reason for the continuance of Slavery, any more than they would of asserting that a duck could not swim because it has a web foot. If you want to pilot a vessel in or out of any port or harbor, you must employ a black man. If you wish to get a cargo of fruit, or almost any of the products of the island, you must employ one or more black men. If you want to take in ballast of stone or sand, &c. contract with a black man. In fact, if you want anything which requires labor *done*, you must employ a black person to do it.

Respectfully yours,

R. EELS.

From the Signal of Liberty.

HENRY CLAY'S SLAVES.

DETROIT, April 6, 1846.

MESSRS. EDITORS:—The Signal of the 30th March contains the statement of a person purporting to be an escaped slave of Henry Clay. In your comments you evince a proper caution. You also say that you are not aware of any evidence that Mr. Clay is a hard master, and that when you receive information confirming or invalidating the present statement you will publish it.

I have read the statement, and it, in connection with your remarks, recall some facts, which may not be uninteresting.

The man whom, with wife and child, Miss Webster assisted to escape from Lexington, Kentucky, and for which she was convicted under the Kentucky laws, was in Detroit. I have frequently conversed with him. He was very intelligent, and highly respectable: a member of the Methodist Church. He resided in Detroit for some length of time, and apparently was as trustworthy, as any of its best citizens. His accounts of Slavery appeared candid, and true: and no one, I think, could listen to him, without being satisfied, that his statements were honest. Nevertheless they may have been otherwise, and I now give you the purport of some of them, to go for what they are worth.

As he appeared in Detroit soon after the excited election of 1844, myself and some friends asked him respecting the condition and treatment of Henry Clay's slaves. He said Mr. Clay himself did not generally interfere with them, but left them to his overseers: that he always had bad and hard overseers: to use his own words—"the meanest kind of overseers:" that he was one of the few persons who kept up the allowance system: i. e. gave a certain amount of food to each slave: that the "allowance" was quite insufficient to support the people, but that they found means to supply themselves with food, by killing pigs, and other such matters during night: he described a small dog they had, and which was trained to catch young pigs by the throat, so that they could not make a noise, and were held until killed: that the slaves were well clothed by Mr. Clay, but miserably fed, and overworked: and were subject to floggings like all others, at the whim of the overseer; that his wife was a slave of Mr. Clay: and that a woman, who was a slave of his (the informant's) master had for a husband a man also a slave of Mr. Clay: and that by these channels and many others; as well as by living all his life close to Ashland, he knew everything going on there.

I asked him respecting Tom Todd. Tom was a well known slave of Mr. Clay, brought up to the shoemaking business, and was hired out to the great profit of Mr. Clay. He was mentioned by, I believe, Mr. Fuller. If not by him, at least by some visitant to Ashland. He was rather a remarkable man; remarkable for appearance, character, industry, and profit to his hirer out. During the year 1844 I had seen in some newspaper a line or two stating that Tom Todd had committed suicide, and I then designed to use it as a significant commentary, on the "fat, sleek, well fed" system, but I forbore to do so, and never mentioned it, because I deemed the newspaper authority bad. I however asked my informant, if he knew Tom Todd, and whether it was true, that he had killed himself.

He said he knew Tom well, and that all Lexington knew him. He was a large and powerful man, of superior mind: very quiet and well conducted: had been always hired out: but that during Mr. Clay's electioneering tours in 1844, his overseer had summoned Tom, and another man, somewhat like him, home to the farm to work; that they both obeyed the call: that the overseer hated both these men, because of their character, person, and mind: and exercised over them petty tyrannies: at last undertaking to whip or strike them: that a scrape ensued, in which the overseer was thrown into a horse pond, or some such thing: and to avoid the consequences, the two men remained hid in the woods, until Mr. Clay returned: that on Mr. Clay's return in the evening, while he entered Lexington amid bonfires, lights, and rejoicings, the other slave got to Mr. Clay; told his story, but was refused pardon. All he could get was permission to sell himself, and find another master, which he did the next day, the money going to Mr. Clay. But Tom was not so fortunate,—the overseer got the first story. The next day Tom appealed to Mr. Clay, but in vain: he recapitulated his long services: his uniform obedience: his devotion, &c. but was answered by an oath, and that he had better have lost his right hand than raised it on a white man: that Tom was desired by Mr. Clay to go with him to an outhouse: was told to strip: that Mr. Clay's passions had become so warm, that irritated with the expostulation and feelings of Tom, he himself tore off his jacket and waistcoat; got him finally stripped, and himself tied him up, and then called in the overseer, told him there was his man, and went away, that the overseer flogged Tom until he became senseless, and was cut down by his wife: that Tom never recovered in mind: continued dejected and moody, was crushed in feeling, and soon after hung himself.

At the time this narrative was given I had thought to get the man to publish it, but it was soon after the election, and its excitement was unallayed. Besides it was only the unsubstantiated statement of an individual. My motive then, was not to injure Mr. Clay, nor hurt the feelings of his friends, but to show our friends the propriety in having resisted the allurements laid to secure their vote for Mr. Clay. They were Anti-Slavery men: of a party based on the cardinal principle of not voting for any slaveholder, but a prodigious appeal had just been made; and one of its grounds had been that "sleek, well fed, and well clad" system of the Clay slaves, and the quiet happiness in which they reposed. I would not even now detail the above portions of the statement, but for that of Mr. Richardson. Your readers can lay the two statements together, and make their own comments. Yours,

CHARLES H. STEWART.

From the Liberator.

THE COWARDLY WHIG SENATE!

The resolution which passed the Massachusetts House of Representatives on the 13th instant, by a vote of 147 to 52, pledging this Commonwealth against the "longer existence of American Slavery," came up in the Senate on Friday last, and after a debate of nearly two hours, was postponed by a vote of 20 to 16, on motion of Mr. Willard, of Worcester.

The resolution was opposed by Messrs. Willard, Shepard, Gray, Wheatland, Allen, Carey, and Maguire, and supported by Messrs. Borden, Hoar, Hopkinson, Watts, Kimball, and Salisbury. Much feeling was exhibited.

Mr. Borden made a sound and sensible speech in favor of the resolution, and urged upon the Senate the duty of concurring with the strong vote of the House.

Mr. Carey, of Suffolk, spoke with much feeling against any action of Massachusetts, believing it better not to interfere with Slavery. Texas was admitted—we must now submit! He, doubtless, spoke the sentiments of the cotton interest.

Mr. Hoar, of Middlesex, (son of the Hon. Samuel Hoar,) made a strong and able speech in support of the resolution, and pointedly told Mr. Carey that it was as much our duty to pass resolutions in favor of the rights of *man* as the interests of *cotton*—a hit which told with effect.

Mr. John C. Gray, of Suffolk, came to the rescue of the representative of the cotton lords, and gave it as his opinion that it would be very unwise for this State to say she would use all her "lawful and constitutional power" to overthrow Slavery. He told his experience in the Faneuil Hall Texas Convention of last year, where he was so much frightened. A great reformer, that Mr. Gray!

Mr. Hopkinson, of Middlesex, perhaps the ablest man in the Senate, made a clear and powerful speech in favor of action. He sustained the resolution, and said it expressed the sentiments of the great mass of the people of Massachusetts. He alluded to the course of Parmenter, Henshaw, and Bancroft, and said they did not represent the people of Massachusetts, but had betrayed the people for place and power.

Mr. Wheatland, of Essex, Chairman of the Committe, denounced the resolutions, and all the past resolutions of the State in regard to Slavery, as mere fustian. He had voted for some of these resolves, *but never approved of them!!* They had accomplished nothing, and it was time to stop resolving.—His speech was, like his report, base, servile, and truckling, unworthy of a son of Massachusetts.

Mr. Watts, of Suffolk, said he dared vote for the resolution—it spoke his sentiments. It would have an influence. He would proclaim truth annually, as he would read the Declaration of Independence. He should vote for it with great pleasure, as it would tend to hasten the day of emancipation. He made a warm and eloquent speech, which showed his heart was right. He is a noble-hearted man. Mr. Willard, of Worcester, thought it would be below the dignity of the Senate, after adopting the report of the committee, to concur with the amendment of the House. He was opposed to all such views as were contained in the resolution. He made, as he usually does, a weak and flat speech. He is one of the smallest specimens of a legislator—always voting against anything that tends to the elevation of humanity. Mr. Shepard, of Bristol, the oldest cotton manufacturer in the United States, and one of the Committee who made the majority report, denounced the resolution in good set terms, as interfering with the rights of the slave States! Mr. Allen, of Middlesex, agent of the Print Works at Somerville, also denounced all such sentiments, in a speech remarkable for nothing but its cringing servility.

The motion for indefinite postponement was then put, and carried by 4 majority. So the Legislature of Massachusetts refuses to express any opinion in relation to the final consummation of the Texas iniquity! Well, a day of reckoning is to come.

From the Chronotype.

Among the important documents now circulated gratuitously, to teach people their own interests, is a series of letters from Hon. Solomon Slackbake, to Hon. Billy Clam Banks, of Virginia. It is a matter of such vital consequence to our country, that every man should understand that it is, and *why* it is, for his interest not to be allowed to buy and sell where he pleases, that we have concluded to republish these letters without expense to their distinguished author:

RESOURCES OF VIRGINIA.

MR. SLACKBAKE TO MR. CLAM BANKS.

MY DEAR BILLY:—I meant to return your visit, but the fact is, we are making money under this tariff faster than we can count it, and I could better afford to give you twice your present amount of "land and niggers," than to go to Virginia just now, especially as we are not certain how long the tariff will last.

I have a high regard for the "Old Dominion," arising from revolutionary associations before I was born, or at all events before the Hartford Convention. I have always looked upon her as not only the mother of the best oysters, but of the purest patriots, and greatest statesmen that ever were produced any where. Every military writer that I ever read, agrees that there is more generalship in retreating than advancing, therefore I take the retreat of Virginia, from being twice as great and populous as New-York, to being half as great and populous, to be a proof of surpassing statesmanship, and "masterly inactivity." And I might in two minutes, if it were necessary, prove that the statesmen of Virginia are not only the purest, but the poorest patriots that ever lived, by referring to the frequent instances of their selling their honest compatriots to pay their own honest debts. Surely a patriot must be uncommon poor to do that.

The rusty, rickety, old schooners which you send round here with oysters and sweet potatoes, don't cut a very respectable figure along side of the New Orleans packets, and I would therefore advise you to keep them at home. I will tell you how to create a *home market* for these things, in a way that is perfectly philosophical. There are two classes of labor, that which knows something, and that which don't. The first class can disentangle very complicated skeins of yarn, but the last only gets them into a more confounded snarl. The latter description of labor is of that character which depends principally upon cowhiding, kicking, and cuffing. This quality of labor you have in abundance, and of course, you have a tolerable supply of the higher class to take care of it. Hence you may undoubtedly commence the manufacture of almost every description of articles, requiring but little skill, such as corn-husk mats, rag carpets, iron hand-cuffs, hemp halters, wooden ploughshares, and pitchforks, and leather spectacles, an article which should not fail of a home market among your numerous politicians.

You would find this division of labor would directly lead to great eagerness for knowledge, cleverness in the use of tools, and turnpikes, and inventions in astronomy, also to great encouragement of railroads.

It is a thousand pities you should pound corn in wooden mortars in Virginia, when there are such mill-seats on the James river, and almost as many that the hogs should eat the corn before it is half ripe. I would advise all your politicians to resolve themselves into a committee of the whole to mend the fences, so that at least two blades of grass may grow where the unruly cattle now hardly let one grow. This will be a substantial internal improvement, and memorials of your patriotic devotion to your own interests, which will stand till some careless nigger leaves the bars down. Let your peculiar common school system go, rawhide in hand, with the employment of your people; you may be quite certain that the adoption of these systems at once will aid each other

In conclusion, inasmuch as any man can exercise the right of suffrage—for I am informed that the sufferings of masters and slaves are about equal in Virginia—I recommend manufactures, popular education, morality drawn more freely from the Gospel, and I have no doubt it will result in a *striking* improvement of your people. I yet hope that Virginia will take her place among the old *Thirteen*. But if she does, those who buy and sell the destinies of their fellow-citizens, have got to be up and doing.—Let the law-makers, and those who administer them, not only swear, and scold, but so act, (with the rattan, fist, or boot-toe,) as to give an impetus to labor; let it be considered respectable for any man to have avocation, and follow it. If not for his own pecuniary profit, let him labor for character, which most of you are sadly destitute of, and for the profit of your creditors. I intended to speak of the tariff and Secretary Walker, but must postpone it till my next.

I remain your obedient servant,

SOLOMON SLACKBAKE.

To the Hon. BILLY CLAM BANKS.
Scruboak Hill, Oyster Shells Co., Va.

EXTRACTS FROM THE SPEECH

Of Mr. D. R. Tilden, of Ohio, on the Bill to raise two Regiments of Riflemen, and for other purposes. Delivered in the House of Representatives, United States, March 24, 1846.

The House having under consideration the bill to raise two regiments of Riflemen, and for other purposes—Mr. Tilden remarked, that he did not often trouble the House with his opinions, for he had long since concluded he could best promote the public interest by remaining silent; but on the present occasion he felt himself under obligation to depart from his usual habits in this respect.

If I understand this matter correctly, said Mr. T. it is a measure originally proposed for the avowed purpose of giving protection to our citizens emigrating to Oregon. This being so, he was anxious to place himself right in the vote he was about to give. He did not wish to stand before his constituents and the country in the position of voting against a bill (as he intended to vote against this) which had for its object the encouragement of our emigration to Oregon, or the protection of our citizens while on their way to that far-off country. If I can be convinced (said Mr. T.) that this is the real object and design of this bill, and that the measure is necessary, I shall feel myself under obligation to give it a sincere and hearty support.

But Mr. T. could not believe that this was the object of the bill. He had no faith that it was got up to protect emigrants. He doubted much if it had ever been the design of the President to raise troops to protect Oregon emigration; and he was quite sure, from recent events, that whatever may have been his feelings heretofore, he *now* had no such design. This view of the subject might be wrong, but it was quite easy to show it so, if that was the case. If this proceeding was all fair, and the objects of the bill such as its friends had represented, they could make it appear.

Mr. T. looked upon it as an attempt on the part of the President to raise troops for Texas under the pretext of protecting emigrants, and to raise them *now* and so enlarge his patronage as to conciliate, by military commissions, certain Western Democrats who had grown cool toward him on account of their views not having been carried out in regard to the Northwest boundary.

There were certain facts surrounding this subject, and to which he should direct the attention of the Committee, which had convinced him, and he trusted would convince them, that something was going on here behind the scenes—something which was influencing the minds of the Military Committee and friends of the bill, but which they had not thought it prudent to communicate to the House. There had a public sentiment got abroad, how, he would not take up the time of the Committee *fully* to explain, that this bill had two objects: The first was to create the necessity for appointing ninety military officers, to be taken, not from the army, but from the West, and of course from the Western democracy. The second object was to raise troops not needed now, but which would soon be needed in Texas. To avow the real objects of the bill, it was believed, would make it unpopular with the people, and of course would endanger its passage. It had, therefore, been brought forward and advocated as a measure for the benefit of Oregon settlers; this, it was supposed, would give it a popularity that would ensure its success.

This was briefly what he understood to be the real character and design of this measure. If the bill succeeded, there could be no doubt about one thing, that the Western democracy were coming in for the offices. In fact, they were already in for them, for he understood papers were circulated in that Hall recommending certain Western members to the President as suitable persons for officers in these new regiments. This was rather indecent haste, and hardly to be credited; but he was informed that the facts, nevertheless, were, as he had stated them. The gentleman from Arkansas, (Mr. Yell,) who addressed the Committee yesterday, seemed to take it for granted that these officers were to be taken from the West. The regiments, he thought, should be officered by certain "Western gentlemen, experienced in Indian warfare." As further proof of this fact, the galleries were said to be crowded with Western Democrats, eager to participate in this new allotment of public plunder. And still further, the feelings with which Western gentlemen upon that floor seemed to have been exercised, during the progress of the debate, went strongly to prove this fact. There was a good deal of over-acting, and the zeal gentlemen manifested for poor emigrants was quite too exuberant to be the promptings of mere patriotism.

Mr. T. said he had no objection to the reconciliation intended to be brought about by this bill between the President and his friends. He did not know, but he would be glad to see it, if it could be effected without too much cost to the country. But he should object to the payment annually of half a million of dollars (the cost of these two regiments) in order to effect it. Painful as it might be to him, he should prefer to have this estrangement continue.

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Thus much, said Mr. T., I have thought proper to say as to the probability of these two regiments being intended by the President and his friends for Western frontier service, and of the necessity of so employing them there when raised. He believed they were neither intended or needed for that service.

But Mr. T. however, had no doubt that the President was in earnest in raising these troops. He believed the President, and those who sympathized and were in closest connection with him, intended to raise them for the *Texan service*. The honorable gentleman from Arkansas, with that candor for which he was so justly distinguished, had intimated that these troops were needed to defend the two thousand miles of additional frontier which we had acquired by the annexation of Texas. (Mr. Yell arose and said he had stated this, among other service in which these troops when raised might be employed.) Thus ends that imposition practiced upon the people, that Texas was indispensable to the defence of the Southwestern frontier—that it was coming to supply the place of armed legions.

The Secretary of War had informed them that it was necessary to increase, permanently, the military force of the country, in order to protect this newly acquired territory, and to guard its inhabitants against certain Indian tribes. That this annexation of Texas, instead of giving us additional security, had brought us into proximity with the Camanches—a wild, fierce, and warlike tribe of Indians, (the Arabs of America, as they have been justly termed.) "These Indians," says the Secretary, "in their habits and character, are unlike those who dwell on our borders, or within our territories; they are fierce and warlike, and have no fixed abodes, are generally mounted on horseback and habituated to plunder; they annually roam over a large extent of country, making fearful incursions into the settlements within their range." This, then, is the defence we have acquired by acquiring Texas; and this the security which it has given to our frontier! Instead of safety, it has brought upon us, as every one must conclude who knows anything of the disposition, habitude, and former practices of the population of Texas, an interminable Indian war, to support which, the productive industry of the country must be taxed to the amount of millions of dollars annually.

But, Mr. T. said, that the object in raising these regiments was to augment what was called the army of occupation in Texas. Was the Committee prepared to raise these regiments for such a purpose? For one, he was not. The State of Ohio, in her Legislature, had adopted resolutions, declaring the annexation of Texas a violation of the Constitution, and that being such, her citizens were not bound by it. He concurred with the Legislature in their view of this act. Yet, said Mr. T. the language they employ, does not convey an adequate idea of the outrage committed upon our political compact. Congress frequently passes unconstitutional laws—they are approved by the Executive, and are regarded as valid until the Supreme Court declares them to be in conflict with the Constitution, and they are thenceforth held inoperative. But the error of the Legislature, in passing such a law, does not affect the union of the States. It leaves the Constitution thereafter in full force, and unimpaired in all its provisions—the same as it was at its adoption. The obligation by which each State is bound to the Union is unimpaired, and remains in full force. The legislative branch of the Government, in such case, mistakes its powers, and acts without constitutional authority. The act itself being unauthorized, is declared void, and all the rights of the people subsequently maintained. But this annexation of Texas is a change of the fundamental principles of the Constitution, a subversion of its essential elements. It was a change of the law-making power of the nation. The Constitution provides, that "no person shall be a representative in Congress, who has not resided within the United States seven years." This provision of our Constitution was for our protection against the legislation of those who might be suspected of acting under foreign influence, or whose predilections, as foreigners, would lead them, as such legislators, to foster interests antagonist to our own. It is one of those features of the Constitution without which, this Union could not have been formed. It was one of the vital elements of our compact, without which that great charter of American liberty would become a dead letter. The very terms of annexation provided that Texas might send two members to that House. She was a foreign State, and her people of course foreigners. To-morrow her members, never having probably set foot upon American soil, Spaniards or Mexicans by birth and education, bringing with them the feelings and prejudices of foreign slaveholders, denying the self-evident truths upon which we base our hopes of a free government, may take their seats in this Hall, and by the preponderance of their votes, give laws to the freemen of the North. Thus would the people of New England, and the free States, be transferred from the protection of a Legislature provided by the Constitution of the country, to one provided by the joint resolutions of annexation. Thus the rights, the interests, and the honor of the free North would be committed to the keeping, not of the friends of freedom, not to the advocates and supporters of true American liberty, but to the advocates and devotees of perpetual slavery.

To characterize this act as merely unconstitutional would do injustice to the subject. Every man must see at once that it is the breaking up of the very foundations of our political Union! It was a final cancelling of the solemn compact of these States! It severed the bonds that held them together! It subverted our "fundamental law of Union!" It absolved each State from all obligation to our present Confederacy! It was in itself a dissolution of the Union—a *revolution*. Congress, said Mr.

Tilden might as well have constituted the Emperor of Russia or the Grand Sultan of Turkey to make laws for the government of our people, as to bring in these Texan foreigners for that purpose. Laws passed by them would be entitled to as much respect from our people, as those passed by the aid of these Texan votes.

For this overthrow of our Constitution there was no remedy. The Constitution itself had provided no redress for such an outrage. We could make no appeal, as in an ordinary case of violation of the Constitution, to the judicial department of the Government. The Supreme Court had power to declare a law unconstitutional, but it could not go behind the Constitution and pass judgment upon the qualifications of those who make the laws. That would be beyond their legitimate powers, for each branch of Congress, by the Constitution, determines upon the qualifications of its members. No, Sir, said Mr. T. there is no remedy for this outrage upon the rights of the free States under the Constitution—it was a revolution, a matter beyond the power of constitutional redress.

Another fundamental principle of the Constitution was that which secured to each State an equal representation in that House proportioned to its population. It was this representative principle which distinguished our Government from a monarchy. The States were equally independent at the formation of the Constitution, and could have been induced to enter into the compact upon no other principles than those of equality. By the terms of Annexation, Texas is to have two Representatives in this House, and two Senators; while the whole number of her electors is believed to be far less than those embraced within the smallest congressional district of Ohio. If Congress (said Mr. T.) could bring a foreign slaveholding Government into this Union, giving to its people a representation double that of any free State in proportion to its numbers, they might, on the same principle, increase the power of such new slave State indefinitely, and thereby diminish the political influence of the free States in the same proportion. Who did not see that this was an entire subversion of one of the most important features of our compact? By it the just influence of the North, through her representatives upon that floor, had been surrendered up, and to their eternal shame be it said, surrendered up by her own sons; and surreadered up, too, in order that the slave interests of the South might be exalted over the free institutions of the North.

Such a feature as this could not have received the sanction of our fathers who framed the Constitution.

But the subversion of the fundamental convenants between the States is, in truth, less abhorrent to the people of the free States than is the extension of the slave representation, as it is usually called; or that feature of the Federal compact which allows to the people in each State a representation in Congress in proportion to their slaves, counting five slaves equal to three freemen. This unequal and unjust privilege in favor of the slave States was yielded by the free States from considerations which pressed upon them at the adoption of the Constitution. But it would be a libel upon the character of those who framed that instrument to say, that they contemplated any extension of this feature, so opposed to the sentiments of the North. They made no provision for extending this privilege to foreign slaveholding States. Yet this annexation of Texas placed her slaveholders in the position of political superiority over the free, intelligent citizens of the North. The owner of five Texan slaves was to wield as much political power in this new confederacy as four free men of Ohio, or any other of the non-slaveholding States. These foreign slaveholders are not only brought into the new confederacy to make laws to govern our people, but we are to associate with them upon terms of political inferiority.

This change of the most important features of our Constitution, Mr. T. characterized as a *revolution*. He could find no term short of that which could be appropriately applied to it. Other revolutions in Government have been marked by blood, and distinguished by a sacrifice of human life, but none have been more complete than that which will take plac when the Representatives and Senators from Texas shall have taken their seats in Congress, beside those of New England and other free States, and our citizens shall quietly yield obedience to laws enacted in part by slaveholding foreigners. This was substantially the view taken by his State Legislature, when, in 1838, by the unanimous voice of both political parties, it declared that this Government possessed no authority to unite a foreign people with the States of this Union. The same view they had repeated by joint resolution in 1845. These are substantially the sentiments proclaimed by Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, and Vermont, in solemn resolves published to the world.

These five sovereign States have clearly defined their rights, and we should soon reach a point at which they must either maintain or surrender them. That will be a question for the people of each State to determine for themselves. Mr. T. said he was not authorized to speak for Ohio on the subject. He was elec ed under a Constitution which he had sworn to maintain and support. But no power had been delegated to him or his colleagues to bind their State to any new confederacy. That was a matter which the people of Ohio in their sovereign capacity could alone determine. He was not authorized to vote the money of the people of his State or the nation for the defence of Texas, or any other foreign power.

Mr. T. said he was aware of the consequences which might result from the carrying out of his views, but whatever there might be of evil in them, they were far less to be deprecated than the consequences which were *inevitably* to follow from this scheme of Annexation. Such an abrogation of our political compact would leave the Government to the control of an accidental majority, and who are now grasping for political power unrestrained by constitutional limitation. If the free States acquiesce in this outrage upon the Constitution, and in this scheme for giving a preponderance of power to the slaveholding States of this Union, it was his deliberate and settled conviction that the power of the people of the free States would be gone forever, and that their only relief from oppression would be in a dissolution of the present form of Government. Let them acquiesce, and then will the policy be established of extending our confederacy by conquest, and conquest at the South, and not elsewhere. Then, too, shall we be at the mercy of a few desperate men in Texas, who will force us into a war with Mexico. Our past experience *had* shown us the impotency of the Government in restraining men in that quarter of the Union from such acts of offence as would make war inevitable. He cared not to what conclusion the present difficulties between this Government and Mexico might be conducted; they might be brought to a peaceful adjustment, and a treaty of amity and peace renewed between the two Governments, but it would not long delay hostilities between them. War with Mexico must certainly occur. The plunderers of Texas would not long consent to be the quiet neighbors of a nation rich in mines of gold and silver, and in a soil of unsurpassed fertility, without attempting its conquest. That insatiable avarice, which prompted them to seize upon Texas, would lead them on to further outrages against Mexico. And especially would they do this when acting under the assurance that they must be sustained by the strong arm of this Government. The work of conquest, said Mr. T. had already begun. Efforts as stealthy as the initiatory proceedings by which Texas was gained were now being made for the acquisition of California; and at the other end of the Capitol we had had a proposition for the purchase of Cuba.

This proclivity, (said Mr. T.) in these Texans for conquest and outrage had been strengthened and encouraged by the action of this Government, as well as by the public sentiment of the party who now administer it. They had been encouraged to persevere in this career of land piracy, for it could not be dignified by the name of conquest. Efforts had been studiously made upon that floor and elsewhere to delude and corrupt the public mind, and make it subservient to these projects of hostility and unjust acquisition. Gentlemen had talked of this thing as a matter that must happen in the ordinary course of events; or, in the cant language of the day, that this was the "*manifest destiny*" of this people. If it be true, as had been heretofore supposed, that a republic must rest upon the virtue and intelligence of the people, he would tell gentlemen what he believed to be the "manifest destiny" of this country. It was speedy, hopeless, irretrievable ruin, unless a higher degree of morality could be attained to in the administration of public affairs.

War with Mexico for the purposes of conquest, and war with the various tribes of Camanches for other objects, were to be among the first fruits of Annexation. And what a sad fulfilment of the flattering promises made us last year, and by which he knew many an honest man in his State had been deceived and betrayed. The promises were, that this country was to come into our Union to supply the place of standing armies, and to open a new market for our farmers. A viler imposition was never practiced upon a confiding people. The Camanches, it was true, had nothing to tempt the cupidity of these invaders; they had no possessions of which they could be despoiled; but they had souls, and having them would sympathize with the slave. This would bring on war with them, as it had done with the Indians in Florida. The truth was, Slavery could not abide contiguous free territory; and so long as it existed should we have wars with our neighbors on account of it. Until the laws of our being should change, until men should cease to love liberty and hate oppression, slaves would escape from their bondage. They would prefer to leave this blessed *patriarchal* institution—as it was sometimes called—this accursed civilization of ours, for a home even among savages. And these Indians, though they might be fierce, warlike and barbarous, as the Secretary of War had represented them, they had not so sunk their humanity but that they would sympathize with these oppressed fugitives. Whenever slave-owners attempted a recapture of these slaves, these Indians would repel them. This would be war; and it would continue until these Indians should be taught by this Government, at an expense of millions to the people, as other Indians had been, to turn a deaf ear to these claims of humanity.—When this Christian nation should convince them, by the exercise of its omnipotent power, of the exceeding wickedness of feeling for the wrongs of their fellow-men, then, and not before, should we be at peace with the Camanches. We must sustain a war with them at an expense of fifty or a hundred millions of dollars, to convince them of the sinfulness of opening their cabin doors to the down trodden slaves. Slavery had before made war for such objects, and it would do it again. It had hardly been restrained from making war upon the free States. Acts of offence had been committed against them by the slaveholding States, time and again, which would have resulted in war but for the restraints imposed by the Constitution.

He believed the present to be a crisis in the history of Slavery in this country. The time had arrived, in his opinion, when it could not much longer harmonize with our free institutions. Slavery or liberty was about to give character to the future policy of this country. The spirit and principles of the one or of the other were about to impress themselves permanently upon our institutions. Which should prevail? Should Slavery strengthen itself? Should this relic of barbarism find a home in this professedly free and Christian Republic, when it was being driven from its lurking places in every other quarter of the globe? Would the free States—those States which had adhered to the principles of the Revolution—those States which had abided by those self-evident truths contained in our Declaration of Independence, prove recreant to these great principles, dishonor their patriotic forefathers, and make a cowardly surrender of this Government to the keeping of domestic and foreign slaveholders?—Would they do this? No! Never—never! He knew something of the tone and temper of public sentiment at the North upon this subject. He knew the change that public sentiment had undergone within the last few years. They had been conceding for the last fifty years to the arrogant demands of Slavery; and he was much mistaken in the signs of the times if they had not made their last concession. From present indications they were to take a firm stand in defence of free institutions, and do that which they had neglected to do, but ought to have done, in years gone by.

Much had been said by Southern gentlemen, whenever this question of Slavery had been alluded to upon that floor, about the compromises of the Constitution. Had the freemen of the North been faithful to these compromises, and confined Slavery to the limits prescribed to it by the Constitution, instead of extending itself over more than one-half of the States of this Union, it would have long since become extinct. The preponderance of the free States, as well as the surrounding it by free institutions, would have crushed it to death. This institution had built and strengthened itself, and grown to its present gigantic proportions, because these compromises have not been abided by. It was for *adhering* to these compromises that his honorable colleague (Mr. Giddings,) had received the sneers and unjust reproaches of certain members of this House from every quarter of the Union. But Mr. Tilden was happy to believe that the fearless, self-sacrificing, and patriotic course which his friend had so perseveringly and so nobly pursued, was about to receive the approval of his State.

Mr. Tilden was prepared to abide by the Government as it was, much as he believed the free States had suffered, from the continual encroachments of Slavery. He believed this to be the feeling of the great mass of the people of all parties in the free States. But he was not willing that the borders of this Union should be extended, in violation of the Constitution, to enlarge the area of Slavery.

As he had before said, he knew not what would be the decision of his State upon this subject. She might consent to submit to Annexation; but if she did, in doing so, in his opinion, she consented to dissolution also; for he well knew her people would *never consent* to some of the necessary and inevitable consequences which must result from Annexation. They never would consent that another dollar should be drawn from their pockets to support a war for conquest against Mexico; nor would they support any more armies to butcher Indians for giving protection to fugitive slaves. Upon these points he believed he could not be mistaken. The time had been when the free States would have submitted to this, but that time had gone by forever. Was it not the duty of those who were determined not to abide the consequences of Annexation, to take ground at once against it? If resistance were to be made to it, or to any of its consequences, now was the time to make that resistance. He believed that it might be now made with safety to our *constitutional* union; made hereafter, it might endanger and even destroy it. Whenever this country should be engaged in a war with Mexico, or even with these Camanche Indians, however unholy the purposes for which that war should be waged, it would be useless for us to withhold our support of it, with any hope of preserving the Union; resistance then to the action of the Government would be dissolution.

He regarded the present a turning point in the destiny of the American people. We were now to determine whether we could or would submit to that new order of things now in preparation for us. Whether we would be taxed to carry on wars for the conquest of Mexico, and for giving protection to slave property in Texas. If the free States were not prepared for all this, if their representatives upon that floor believed they would not submit to it, they owed it to the South, and indeed to the whole country, and to posterity, to resist that Annexation from which these things must necessarily result.

There was no feature of this Texas Annexation that could commend itself to his favor. It had its commencement in private speculation, instituted from the basest of motives; and, by certain secret influences which had not yet been fully explained, this Government throughout had been made a party to the disgraceful transaction. All the benefits which would be likely to result from it would result to individuals. Upon many, princely fortunes would be conferred; but upon his constituents it would operate as an unmitigated curse. From a private enterprise it had now become a general system of national marauding. Our army was now occupying territory which was represented in the Mexican Congress—territory where our citizens were now paying duties on their merchandise to the Government of Mexico—and territory to which we had no more title, according to the highest democratic authority at the other end of the Capitol, than we had to the island of Great Britain.

Before he would consent to augment this army of occupation or observation, (whichever it might be called,) for the purpose of carrying on this marauding enterprise against our weak and unoffending neighbor, he would see that Capitol razed to its foundation.

(Mr. Holmes, of S. C. Are you not for marauding in Oregon?)

Mr. T. It is my present purpose to say, that I am not for marauding in Texas. My vote will determine my intentions in relation to Oregon.

Ohio had not been yet heard upon this subject. She had been betrayed on this question. Her Senators had violated her instructions, and a majority of her Representatives upon that floor had set at defiance the clearly expressed intentions of her Legislature. The whole transaction had been a fraud upon her people, and upon those of the other free States. There had been no deliberation upon it, no freedom of thought or action. The question had been suddenly sprung by a knot of politicians, personally and pecuniarily interested in it, upon a party known to be more anxious for a party triumph than for the permanent well-being of the country. These politicians took advantage of this ardent party feeling, and so managed as to make the support of this infamous measure the condition of party success. Under such restraints as these, and upon such considerations, did Northern men first give to this measure their reluctant support. It was sustained by party necessity alone. Northern politicians had never given it a sincere support. They had evidently acted under a consciousness that it was an outrage upon the rights of the North. The overwhelming public sentiment of the free States had always been against it, and whenever it had expressed itself, unbribed and unbought, it had always been in strong condemnation of it.

For a while the people of the free States had been deluded by the pretence that Annexation was a part of a system of acquisitions which it was the *destiny* of the Democratic party to carry out, and which was to operate to the equal benefit of every section of the Union. We were to have an "ocean-bound Republic." These acquisitions, it was said, were to preserve the equation between the slaveholding and non-slaveholding States of this Union. The *whole* of Oregon and Canada were to come in on the North, to counterbalance Texas, and other acquisitions at the South. This was the gilding that was given to this measure in order to make it acceptable to the people of the free States. But now, alas! we were told by Northern gentlemen, that their Southern friends had betrayed them; that having acquired Texas, they now refused to carry out the northern part of the bargain. They were not only for letting Canada alone, but even in fact for giving up Oregon to the British. There was, to his mind, nothing very extraordinary and unexpected in all this. It had resulted as any one would have expected who was acquainted with the manner in which Northern Democrats had been humbugged by their Southern associates. Whatever acquisitions were to be made to our territory would be made South. Those who controlled the country did not intend to make them elsewhere.

One word as to the position we are placed in by this partiality of the President for the Southern section of the Union! It was a position which would disgrace us in the eyes of all the civilized nations of the earth. It had been truly said, that our national honor was to be maintained, in our intercourse with foreign nations, by demanding nothing but what was clearly right, and submitting to nothing wrong. If this be true, could the national honor be maintained by carrying out the policy of our President? He thought not. The President was acting upon this maxim reversed. He was both *submitting to* and demanding that which was wrong. Upon one side, with matches lit, and "cannon shotted home," he was *demanding* of a nation *unable to protect itself*, that to which we had *no right*; while, on the other side, in treating with a nation which *was our equal*, he was making an ignoble surrender of that to which we were *clearly entitled*. We were to go to war with enfeebled and broken-down Mexico, for territory to which we had no *pretence of title*; and at the same time, for the purpose of avoiding war, surrendering to the arrogant demand of Great Britain, two hundred thousand square miles of land, to which (according to the President) "*our title was clear and unquestionable.*" We were plundering land from Mexico on one side, and meanly giving it away to England on the other. Who was there, in whom a sense of national pride was not wholly extinct, but would feel his country dishonored in view of this position which it had been made to occupy? If we were to turn land pirates, let us at least, have the magnanimity to commit our depredations upon a nation able to defend itself. But if we must steal from the *defenceless*, do not let us add to our infamy by surrendering up, at the same time, to *our equals*, for fear of consequences, that which is *clearly our own*.

The moral sense of the nation would, he believed, be far better satisfied that we should plunder England, and give away to Mexico. We could at least claim the merit, in such a transaction, of taking upon ourselves the hazard of a war with an equal.

He would now say, in conclusion, that by no act of his would he acknowledge Texas as a part of this Union. His immediate constituents, and the State of Ohio, so far as his action was concerned, should remain uncommitted upon this subject. His State had twice resolved that Annexation was unconstitutional, and, as such, her citizens were not bound by it. To these resolutions he should refer himself, and, as one of her Representatives upon that floor, would endeavor to carry them out in the spirit in which they were enacted. They met his approval, and he would abide by them as embodying the sentiments of the people of his State on this subject. But should Ohio, at any time hereafter, change her views and annul these resolutions, or by any other act express her assent to this new union with Texas, as one of her citizens, he should feel himself bound to acquiesce in this change of opinion.

From the London Morning News.

AMERICAN SLAVERY.

At the moment when a great principle, after blind motions and struggles for long ages in the womb of destiny, at last takes upon itself a visible life and becomes incarnate in some frame of government, those who have a kind of father's right in the newborn one, by virtue of having to their utmost helped it into being, are forthwith elbowed aside, and the too free limbs of the young Titan are carefully bandaged up in swaddling clothes by constitution-mongering nurses, till it is laid away, as mere a mummy for all purposes of growth and motion, as the most shrivelled Psammiticus of the pyramids. It seems a provision of nature that, when the elements of a worn-out social system are brought into a state of solution in the revolutionary alembic, the new idea should pass from the hands of its original possessors into those of the politicians, and become but a thread around which the antiquated forms recrystalize in new combinations but with no change of essence. That wonderful, petrifying spring of Italy is not more rapid in its effects than is the broad, rushing river of temporary interest in changing any new thought cast upon its waters to a stone, which sinks instantly out of sight, and is lost in the slimy ooze below. Let us illustrate this by tracing the gradual extinguishment in the independent United States of the central idea which animated and carried though successfully the Colonial Rebellion.

The framers of the American Constitution were all men of the upper rank in society, and had probably never accepted the doctrines of the Declaration of Independence as practically true. As true exponents of the existing popular intelligence, they doubtless drew up the most perfect Constitution possible; but as representatives of the great impulse which had been working half-consciously in the minds of the whole people for the twenty years preceding, and in Massachusetts since its first settlement, they were unfaithful to their trust. They should have remembered that a system of government, to be permanent, must be founded on principles in advance of the people who live under it, in order to allow that to expand by the natural and peaceful laws of growth, which, if repressed, would become at length explosive. Be this as it may, if they had certainly no idea of establishing a democracy, they had still less of placing all power in the hands of an irresponsible oligarchy, which was in fact the result of their labors. It is clear that a majority of the Convention, especially the delegates from the Northern States, felt the inconsistency between the institution of Slavery and the claims for universal man set forth in the Declaration of Independence. They were probably induced the more readily to consent that the African Slave-Trade should continue until the year 1808, because in common with all the opponents of Slavery in England and America at that time, they believed that the suppression of that loathsome traffic would put an end to the supply of slaves, and thus at last abolish Slavery itself. The Northern delegates forced themselves to think that, in allowing things to remain as they were till 1808, they were only giving to those States where the slaves formed a large proportion of the population a proper time to prepare for the extinction of the system. They either did this, or they wilfully closed their eyes and ears. But even if we allow that such considerations had much weight with many of the delegates, it is difficult to conceive how those who represented the Northern States could have been so stupidly blind as to consent to that clause of the Constitution which gave votes to the *slaveholders* for three-fifths of their slaves.

The whole history of the adoption of the American Constitution gives fearful warning of the danger which always attends the not daring to look an evil directly and honestly in the face. To put off the evil day is only to allow an overwhelming amount of interest to accumulate which must all be strictly accounted for in the end. Repudiation will not serve in regard to such a debt. It is never a safe thing (surely never a manlike or noble one) to leave to the future the overthrow of those abuses which it is our own duty to grapple with and vanquish. Every age is sure to have work enough of its own. It is idle to unloose merely one finger's hold of the gripe with which an ancient lie clutches the throat of humanity, and to sit down contented with our work. Relaxed for a moment, it only closes again the more chokingly.

In making the extraordinary distinction of giving the privilege of an increased number of votes to property when it consisted of flesh and blood, the Convention laid the foundation of an oligarchy more odious than can be found in history. No aristocracy can exist without a greater or less infringement of the rights of the many; but the very groundwork of this is the total annihilation of the bodily and spiritual rights, and the trampling out of the very manhood of a sixth part of the inhabitants of the United States. When the people of the free States consented that this barbarous anomaly should be engrafted upon the national Constitution, they made what seemed for the moment a profitable barter of conscience, which paid no interest, for certain present commercial advantages which did. But the history of guilt in nations and individuals is the same. The prosperous sin of yesterday begins on the morrow to exact daily payments of shame and remorse, and must be undone again sooner or later at a vast sacrifice of that very profit for whose enjoyment it was committed. "I found," said Mr. Martin, "a delegate from slaveholding Maryland, explaining, before the Assembly of that State, the clause of the Constitution allowing the importation of slaves until the year 1808, "I found the Eastern (Northern) States, notwithstanding their aversion to Slavery, willing to indulge the Southern States at least with a temporary liberty to prosecute the Slave-Trade, provided the Southern States would in turn gratify them by laying no restriction on navigation acts."

A slight sketch of the history of this aristocratical feature in the American Constitution, and of its yearly encroachments upon the liberties of the so-called free States, will give melancholy proof how quickly the ideal glow faded from the principles of the Revolution, as soon as the generous sentiments toward all mankind, inspired by their own aspiration after independence, became deadened in the hearts of the white population by the prospects of selfish advantage opened to them by success; and how inflexible is that law of Providence which turns to a punishment the seeming benefit gained by a compromise with evil, and makes its wages, which show so golden when the bribe is offered, wither like fairy-gold in the hands of the gulled and flonted traitor to the right. It cannot of course be denied that civility and the arts have advanced rapidly in the United States. In particular provinces the form of government is thoroughly democratic, and it would be hard to find in the world a population of a million where comfort, intelligence, and education, are so equally and universally distributed as in Massachusetts, the chief of the New England States. But what we undertake to demonstrate is that, while a selfish regard for freedom (that is, for the interest of particular classes) has, perhaps, become more cherished than ever,—that generous sentiment which cannot, from an innate repugnancy, erect its own advantage on the oppression of others, and that jealousy for the eternal principles of just liberty which esteems them as naught unless their application be universal, have steadily dwindled until they have at last been buried well nigh out of sight in the ever-deepening sand-heaps of petty and transitory interests. Still stand there, it is true, half-buried, the statues of the ancient gods. Colossal, majestic, tempest-shattered images of the truths of a magnanimous past, they loom up mysterious above the assailing desert-drifts, an enigma to the degenerate race who are content to worship cows and crocodiles, and who use their sublime ancestral monuments only as quarries to build for themselves a pitiful shelter.

The apologists for the great national institution of America (and such are, with very rare exceptions, all who are influential by public office or social position in the United States) are wont triumphantly to throw all the guilt of it upon England. This may do very well in Fourth of July orations, where we expect nothing but the same yearly-repeated shams, but is not worth any serious argument. We have not thought it worth the while to search the mouldy lines of an effete parchment whose authority has become traditional, but some such charge was introduced either into the Declaration of Independence, or into the original draft of that instrument. The simple truth is, that, however much of the shame of the original crime may belong to England, the perpetuation of this curse in America was owing solely to the culpable subserviency of the delegates from the free States to the demands of South Carolina and Georgia, who refused to enter the proposed union unless the privilege of trading in their fellow-men was guaranteed to them by the Constitution. More than this—the people of the free States bound themselves to assist in suppressing servile insurrections: in other words, to prevent the miserable race, whom they made a sacrifice to their commercial cupidity, from making a practical application of the very principles of which they themselves make so offensive a boast, and also to surrender any poor fugitive who might have found a shelter in their territories. We have never heard that the clergy of America (whether at the North or South) have protested against this last covenant, though it is in express contravention of that very Mosaic code from which (in emulation of Luther, who first made use of the argument to the Bohemian serfs) they deduce the singular theory that American Slavery was divinely sanctioned on Mount Sinai, and behind which they would fain shelter their own guilty and unchristian acquiescence.

At the time of the adoption of the Constitution, if ever, an opportunity was offered by Providence to the Americans for cleansing themselves of this odious national stigma; and, when the offer of God is not instantly closed with, the devil always brings in his plausible subsititute. Such an opportunity will never occur again. In some of the Northern States, Slavery had never existed. The slaves of Massachusetts had been set free in a single day by a decision of the Supreme Court (in 1781) of that State, founded on a provision in the Bill of Rights, inserted for the express purpose of making Slavery unconstitutional. A decision had also been made in that State awarding damages to a slave who sued his master for unjustly restraining him of his freedom, and this, too, in 1770, two years before the famous case of the slave Somerset, in England. Other States had taken steps towards gradual emancipation, and the feeling in almost all was in its favor. Virginia had not then become the Guinea coast of America, and her delegates to the National Convention were among the most earnest in their denunciation of the whole system, and in expressing a hope that Congress would interfere in some way to put an end to it. At the same time, however, they were no less earnest in their efforts to secure an enumeration of three-fifths of the slaves in the basis of representation; a prerogative, by yielding which the free States made themselves the insulted serfs of an aristocracy whose selfishness has only been equalled by the energy, perseverence, and contempt of justice with which they have secured and enlarged the means of its gratification.

It will be useful, in order to compare the state of feeling on the subject at that time with its present manifestations, to make a few extracts from the debates in the Congress of the Confederation, and in the Convention for framing the present Constitution, preserved by Mr. Madison, of Virginia, a prominent member of both those bodies, and afterwards President of the United States. Mr. Williamson, of North Carolina, (then and now a slave State,) said, that "he was principled against Slavery, and that he thought slaves an incumbrance to society instead of increasing its ability to pay taxes." Mr. Morris, of Pennsylvania, "could never agree to give such encouragement to the Slave-Trade as would be given by allowing them (the slave States) a representation for their negroes. He would sooner submit himself to a tax for paying for all the negroes in the United States than saddle posterity with such a Constitution." Mr. Martin, of Maryland, (then and now a slave State,) said, that "it was inconsistent with the principles of the Revolution, and dishonorable to the American character, to have such a feature in the Constitution." (The three-fifths ratio of representation for slaves was under consideration.) Mr. Mason, of Virginia, (then and now a slave State,) said, "Every master of slaves is born a petty tyrant. They bring the judgment of heaven upon a country. As nations cannot be rewarded or punished in the next world, they must be in this. By an inevitable chain of causes and effects, Providence punishes national sins by national calamities. He held it essential in every point of view that the General Government should have power to prevent the increase of Slavery." Mr. Madison, of Virginia, "thought it wrong to admit in the Constitution the idea that there could be property in men." We might quote also the published opinions of many distinguished Americans, at this period, to the same effect, but we shall content ourselves with one. Mr. Jefferson, afterwards President of the United States, writes thus in 1788: "And can the liberties of a nation be thought secure, when we have removed their only firm basis, a conviction in the minds of the people that those liberties are the gift of God? That they are not to be violated but with his wrath? Indeed, I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just; that his justice cannot sleep forever; that, considering numbers, nature, and natural means, only, a revolution of the wheel of fortune—an exchange of situation—is among possible events; that it may become probable by supernatural interference!—*The Almighty has no attribute which can take side with us in such a contest!*" The only comment we shall make on this last quotation is, to add, that we have seen it noted as a fact and never denied, that a son of Mr. Jefferson, by one of his slaves, is now living in the nominally free State of Ohio, is refused the right of citizenship, and is also, we believe, incapacitated from being a witness in a court of justice, simply on account of his complexion.

When the first Congress under the present Constitution, assembled, addresses were presented from the Societies of Friends in New-York and Pennsylvania, praying that measures might be taken to restrain the Slave-Trade, (authorized, it must be remembered, by the Constitution for twenty years); together with a petition from Benjamin Franklin, in behalf of the Pennsylvania Society for the abolition of Slavery, stating that this "institution" was hostile to the professed principles of the Government, as well as to humanity and religion, and entreating the earnest attention of the Congress, "to the subject of Slavery; that it would be pleased to countenance the restoration of liberty to those unhappy men, who, alone, in this land of freedom, are degraded into perpetual bondage, and who, amidst the general joy of surrounding freemen, are groaning in servile subjection: that it would devise means of removing this inconsistency from the character of the American people; that it would promote mercy and justice towards this distressed race; and that it would step to the very verge of the power vested in it for discouraging every species of traffic in the persons of our fellow-men."

It is remarkable how early the tone of members from the more southwardly States had changed from entreaty to command. Having obtained, by virtue of the only aristocratical privilege secured by the Constitution, an undue proportion of power in the legislative councils of a professedly republican nation, they opposed even the mere form of a reference of these petitions to a committee. The majority of the House of Representatives, by sanctioning such a reference, as they eventually did, decided by inference that the object of such petitions was a legitimate one, and that their prayer should at least be respectfully entertained. This is only important as illustrating the progress of the slave-holding usurpation.—Fifty years after, the House of Representatives refused to receive any petitions on the subject of Slavery, or having even a remote bearing on it. But this will come more properly under the consideration of some future article.

The ground assumed by many of the speakers, both in the Congress of the Confederation, and in the Convention, that Slavery would not be tolerated in the Constitution of any new State desiring admission to the Union, and the fact that the framers of the Federal Constitution were ashamed to admit into it the odious name of *slave*, are worthy of notice.

It now becomes necessary to review briefly the chief causes of the retrocession of public sentiment on this head, from the comparatively high ground held at this period, to the point which it now occupies, and which may truly be called, (to borrow a word from Montaigne,) *subterranean*. In order to render this more clear, a few preliminary observations are necessary.

The existence of Slavery in a community, and more especially of Slavery founded (as in America) on so eminent an absurdity as the color of the skin, not only renders labor despised, but establishes also a complexional or cutaneous order of nobility, producing in the higher classes, habits of unthrift, inseparable from the character of those who live wholly on the unpaid toil of others; and in the lower, a contempt for all those frugal virtues which can only take root in a soil where labor is duly respected, and awarded. We have the ample testimony of Mr. C. M. Clay, himself once a slaveholder, and still resident in a slaveholding State, for the fact that the malign influences of Slavery affect chiefly the non-slaveholding whites of the communities where it exists. The fact that they can claim superiority over one class in the body politic, without any merit of their own, renders it the easier for another class to exercise an equally unfounded supremacy over themselves. Petty tyrants, (as Germany can witness,) are always the material out of which the slaves of greater tyrants can be most easily moulded.—In the higher order, again, is produced a body of men, rapacious, naturally unscrupulous as to the means of obtaining power, unwilling, or thinking it degrading to live by their own labor, assuming to themselves the rank of an aristocracy without any of the external graces and refinements which sometimes varnish privilege in the eyes of the unprivileged, and looking to the offices of Government as their natural inheritance. When the groundwork of society is essentially savage, a tinge of barbarism may be traced in the highest developments of its civilization, as may be seen in the Eastern nations, through all whose wrappages of refinement, the shaggy Tartar, or the wandering Arab, were still visible, while in literature, science, and the arts of luxury, and ornament, they had reached a point which the West has perhaps even yet hardly attained. The vices native to, and inseparable from, their own internal system, the slaveholding aristocracy have carried into the administration of public affairs in the United States; and have thus invested with many of the attributes of a lower civilization the public acts of a Government whose principles, if allowed their legitimate influence and growth, would have produced consequences precisely the reverse. This will account for the bowie-knife glitter, which shines out here and there in a President's message; and for the unscrupulousness which sometimes characterizes a Secretary of State.

It is a singular anomaly that, in the most powerful republic of modern times, the offices of the Government and of the army and navy should be almost, and the direction of affairs quite, exclusively in the hands of representatives and pupils of that "institution" which, more than all others combined, tends to weaken, impoverish, and demoralize the Commonwealth, and to render all who come within the contamination of its influence totally unfit for any administrative station. We do not mean to assert that the slaveholding States have produced no men of virtue or ability. Washington and Jefferson, in each kind, are prominent examples to the contrary, but they were the results of very different social elements from those which now govern in their native State. It is true, also, that an aristocracy fosters, or gives leisure for the cultivation of, certain kinds of ability. If it were not so, the traders in the bodies and souls of men could never have obtained so entirely, and kept so long, the political direction of the United States.

How they acquired this despotism, and by what tenure they hold it, we shall show in our next article.

Communications.

Letter from London.

MARCH 17, 1846.

To the Editors of the Anti-Slavery Standard:

The progress you are making is cheering, and the onward progress in Europe must be cheering to you; for good cannot but vibrate through the chord of human agency wherever the chord is struck. The abolition of Slavery in the West Indies was a great step towards its abolition in America. It encouraged the good, strengthened the active, and raised the fears of the unjust—and in fear there is weakness;—it strengthened the knees of the Abolitionists, and weakened the ankles of tyrants. We are, you see, the exemplars of commercial freedom. Freedom is an unity, though we classify it in words. We cannot obtain it in commerce, and not advance your progress towards universality. All truths are related: establish one truth, and you advance the whole family of truths to the vision. We wait not for reciprocity—agreements we know must come as a consequence. For, if my customer sees I am benefited by a given course of business, he immediately becomes emulous,—he adopts my course for his own sake, though, had I stopped to argue it with him, he would have suspected me, and debated because he suspected. In this sense it is that deeds are said to be masculine, words of the feminine gender; and this other saying is true, "Do right, and leave the event to God." These truths and sayings are, and will be more fully and obviously manifest in the actions of nations than of individuals, because the one is chronicled more extensively than the other, and is potent to more eyes. The success of the Anti-Corn-Law League here, awakening men to the injustice of commercial slavery, is as encouraging to the lovers of freedom as the great advance which Garrison has made in awakening men to the wickedness and abomination of Slavery. The League, eight years ago, consisted of seven members; it can now boast that the nation is with it, and that they have none to overcome save only the expiring remnant of their feudal enslavers, who have so long been the sots of power that they have not perceived that they have long been sinking into contempt, and that the manifestations of their power in the sufferings of the poor, was also evidence of its decline. The effect became so obvious that the cause could not but be traced. Our aristocracy and land-owners have lived without sympathy for the wrongs of their serfs, and did not see that they were, by destroying it in their dependents towards themselves, sapping the foundation which sustained them.

Of the value of free trade, I annex you a proof taken from the Nautical Herald:

OUR COMMERCIAL MARINE.

In 1813, the first blow was given to the monopoly of the trade with India, but the honorable company did not yield up the exclusive power, which they had so long possessed, without a severe struggle to retain it, and they and their partisans, both in and out of Parliament, argued that our great prosperity in the East arose from the affairs of the Government of India being administered, and from the commerce with the natives being controlled, by a few Directors of unsurpassed honor, wisdom, and talents; and they boldly asserted if the trade were thrown open it would fall in the hands of needy, ignorant, and unprincipled adventurers, by whom it would be destroyed, and who would involve themselves and the country in irretrievable losses and ruin, and would disgrace and degrade the great name and character of Englishmen, so highly appreciated and honored by the native merchants. After much discussion, Parliament decided that the East India Company should retain the exclusive right of trade with China, but that the trade to other ports in India should be free to ships licensed by the company. The trade under these restrictions was partially thrown open, and we must judge from the result how far the prophecy of its ruin, and the destruction of the British character and capital has been fulfilled—perhaps the names of Green, Money Wigram, J. & W. Smith, Wimble, Somes, Toulmin, and many others we could select of the honorable and rich merchants and ship-owners, in whose hands and by whose capital and talents the commerce with India is now carried on, is a triumphant answer to the one part of the prophecy, and the advantages of monopoly will be best appreciated and answered by the following tables:—

Number of ships, and their tonnage, which cleared out from London to China and the ports of India, during the following years of the monopoly of the trade by the East India Company:

Years.	Ships.	Tonnage.
1803	55	48,228
1808	44	40,235
1813	44	38,556

Here, then, is a decrease each five years of the monoly, and between the years 1803 and 1813, a decrease is shown of eleven ships, and nearly ten thousand tons.

Now for the seven years after the trade was thrown open:

Number of ships cleared out from London to China by the company, and from Great Britain by the company, and by licensed traders:

Year.	Ships.	Tonnage.
1820	109	69,598

Increase since 1813, 65 31,042

Thirteen years after, when the trade was thrown open and unrestricted to China, as well as to all the ports in India, the ships cleared out from Great Britain to India were—

Year.	Ships.	Tonnage.
1833	259	115,603

which shows a further increase from 1820 of 150 ships, and 46,005 tons. Did the trade fall off after that it was wholly free? Let the returns speak. Cleared out in the

Year.	Ships.	Tonnage.
1840	411	190,352

which shows an increase from 1833 of 152 ships; tonnage, 74,750.

Let us conclude our statistics with the returns of last year:—

Year.	Ships.	Tonnage.
1845	620	291,999

Increase in the last five years, 109 161,646

And since 1813, the last year of vaunted monopoly, and under which monopoly the trade had in the ten preceding years decreased nearly one-fourth, the free trade increased to—ships, 576; tonnage, 253,443.

Since then we have established half caste juries, allowed Englishmen to settle, abolished Slavery, introduced education; all which must work together for good. Look at the additional number of exchanges these vessels and this additional tonnage must have introduced; and remember that every exchange implies two wants supplied—that every want supplied is an increase of happiness—that every addition to the stock of individual happiness, is an increase to the disposition to diffusive benevolence, and that again induces contributions by the most advanced scholars to the happiness of the universe. A.

The Anti-Slavery Standard.

NEWYORK, THURSDAY, MAY 7, 1846.

☞ NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS! ☜

ANNUAL MEETING
Of the American Anti-Slavery Society.

THE TWELFTH ANNUAL MEETING OF

charged upon them by Bishop Wilberforce, than to endeavor to stifle investigation, by burying in oblivion the faithful and Christian rebuke of their English brother.

After adverting to the origin of the Anti-Slavery enterprise, and the position assumed towards it by "the sects," he proceeds:

In this mighty rivalry in preaching smooth things to the slaveholders, "the sects" were not permitted to gain a triumph. On the 27th of November, 1836, the Rev. George W. Freeman, after morning service, ascended the pulpit of Christ Church, Raleigh, North Carolina, and announced to his delighted hearers the good news that the slavery of white men and of black men, of the wise and of the simple, of the learned and of the ignorant, was sanctioned by God, and approved by Jesus Christ and his holy Apostles. This commissioned ambassador of the Redeemer proclaimed, "THAT NO MAN NOR SET OF MEN IN OUR DAY, UNLESS THEY CAN PRODUCE A NEW REVELATION FROM HEAVEN, ARE ENTITLED TO PRONOUNCE SLAVERY WRONG; and that SLAVERY AS IT EXISTS AT THE PRESENT DAY IS AGREEABLE TO THE ORDER OF DIVINE PROVIDENCE."

The fact that any institution involves *duties*, proves its lawfulness, since no duty can attach to a sinful practice. Hence our preacher, after employing the morning of the Lord's day in expounding the *divine rights* of the slaveholders, devoted the afternoon of the same holy time in proclaiming their *duties*. The slaveholder was reminded that he was under a moral obligation to punish his slaves when they deserved punishment; but he must not be too severe, nor chastise when in a passion; nor ought he to overwork them. He is bound, moreover, to have the slave children baptized, and *orally* taught to say the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments. "It is not necessary," said the man of God, "that they should be taught to read;" but, nevertheless, the master was declared to be as responsible for the souls of his slaves as for those of his own children! Such are the duties which spring from this Scriptural Institution; duties which, fortunately for the master's convenience, involve no regard for the marriage of his slaves, no respect for their conjugal or parental rights, and impose no restrictions on the sale of men, women, and children, in the market; at least, no obligations of this sort were adverted to by the preacher.

These two sermons certainly formed the most acceptable offering which any clergyman had yet laid on the altar of Slavery. The hints about the bondage of *white* men, the necessity of a *new revelation*, before Slavery could be pronounced *wrong*, and the connection of *religious duties* with the institution, could not fail of convincing the slaveholder, that in the Episcopal Church he would find an asylum from the taunts and reproaches of the civilized world; that from her altars he could gather balm for his wounded conscience, and that in her courts, he could, without distraction, form his schemes of traffic in human beings and forge the chains by which they were to be held in subjection. It was, of course, important that slaveholders generally should participate in the joyful intelligence imparted to the congregation of Christ Church. The news might be spread by the press, but what assurance could be given that the gratifying declarations made by Mr. Freeman, a private and obscure Presbyter, were authorized by competent ecclesiastical authority? The sermons were published under the imposing title of "THE RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF SLAVEHOLDERS," and bore the following *imprimatur* from the Bishop of the Diocese:

"RALEIGH, Nov. 30, 1846.

Rev. and Dear Brother—I listened with *most unfeigned pleasure* to the discourses delivered last Sunday, on the character of Slavery and the duties of masters. And as I learn a publication of them is solicited, I beg, from a conviction of their being urgently called for at the present time, that you will not withhold your consent.

With high regard, your affectionate friend,
and Brother in the Lord,
L. S. IVES.

To the Rev. GEORGE W. FREEMAN."

This letter was obviously written, not for its professed purpose of overcoming Mr. Freeman's reluctance to appear in print, but to let the slaveholders of North Carolina know, that although their Bishop was a Northern man, his conscience was thoroughly acclimated; and that bold and startling as were the doctrines of the Raleigh preacher, they would be maintained in all their length and breadth by Episcopal authority. The Church in North Carolina, by this authoritative publication, far exceeded all the "sects," in the slave region, in her fearless championship of Slavery in the "abstract," and "as it exists at the present day." But the diocese was not permitted long to enjoy this proud pre-eminence. Her sister of South Carolina quickly shared it with her. The society for "the advancement of Christianity," (!) consisting of clergymen and laymen, with the Bishop at their head, seized upon Freeman's pamphlet, and reprinted it, *imprimatur* and all, as a *religious tract for gratuitous distribution*.

But there was still one circumstance, which, in times of alarm and despondency, was calculated to weaken the confidence of the slaveholder in the strength and permanency of the fortress which had thus kindly opened its gates to receive him. Most of the religious denominations of the South were connected with their Northern brethren by general ecclesiastical judicatories. Already had alarming discussions occurred in the Presbyterian Assembly, and the Methodist Conference, and the Baptist Mission Board, and it was painfully apparent that in these bodies "the rights and duties of slaveholders" were viewed in very different colors from the glowing tints in which Freeman had painted them. The Episcopal Church at the South was subject to the jurisdiction of the General Convention, and what security could be given that a body embracing Northern as well as Southern delegates, would not repudiate the doctrines of the Raleigh Sermons? Lynch law could indeed control the Southern pulpit as well as the Southern press; but the consciences and the characters of the slaveholders were assailed from the North. *There* the *Dissenters* were gradually abandoning the cause of human bondage. Under the strong pressure of public opinion, and in utter contempt of the well-known sentiments of the Church of England, and indeed of the moral sense of Christendom, could it be hoped that the Northern section of the Episcopal Church would, in General Covention, tolerate, much less approve of the extreme, ultra pro-slavery views of the Rev. George W. Freeman?

All questions of this sort were most explicitly answered by the last Convention, as appears by an extract from the minutes of the House of Clerical an! Lay Delegates:

"The following message was received: 'House of Bishops, Oct. 22, 1844. The House of Bishops inform the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies, that they have nominated the Rev. George W. Freeman, D.D. rector of Immanuel Church, Delaware, a missionary Bishop, to exercise Episcopal functions in the State of Arkansas, and in the Indian Territory, south of 36 1-2 degrees of parallel of latitude, and to exercise Episcopal supervision over the Missions of the Church in the Republic of Texas. Attest, Jonathan M. Wainwright, Secretary.'

"On motion of Rev. Dr. Tyng, the nomination of the Bishop of Arkansas and Texas (as above) was unanimously assented to."

* * * * * * *

"Slavery," said Lord Mansfield, "is so odious that nothing but positive law can sustain it." His lordship little suspected that a time was approaching when the Church would afford it more efficient support than even positive law, and would herself look to it for support in return. One of our church periodicals has announced that "the Bishop of Georgia, in his Montpelier Institution, is testing the sufficiency of slave labor to support it." It is not unusual to see in the Southern papers, notices of slaves to be sold on account of ecclesiastical corporations. Bishop Wilberforce, in his History, refers to a proposal by the editor of the "Spirit of Missions," to establish a Mission School to be supported by slaves, who shall be induced, by the promise of prospective emancipation, to perform so much extra labor in the course of sixteen years as to yield a profit of one hundred per cent. on the capital invested, over and above the ordinary profits extorted by common taskmasters. This revolting scheme, in which it was intended that the slaves should work two hours before sunrise, and two hours after sunset, in all *sixteen* hours out of the four-and-twenty, and this for sixteen successive years, was pressed upon the Church in an official magazine, published in New-York, under the supervision of the Missionary Committee, and by an editor holding his appointment from the Board of Missions, including the Bishops, and other representatives of the Church elected by the General Convention. In about three months after this publication, the Board assembled, and written remonstrances were presented to them, beseeching them, for the honor of the Church, and the cause of religion and humanity, to disavow the conduct of their editor. These remonstrances excited warm debates, not unmingled with Southern arrogance. It was impossible for the Board to express disapprobation of the plan without indirectly censuring Bishops Ives and Elliott. If slaves be indeed property, what objection can there be to converting their bones and muscles into money for the Church? To condemn the editor, would offend the pro-slavery Bishops and clergy; expressly to approve his conduct, would raise a tempest at the North. So, policy was substituted for godly sincerity, and cunning for wisdom. The Board expunged from their minutes the proceedings had on the memorials, and avoiding all intelligible allusion to the scheme which had led to them, ordered the following words to be printed on the future numbers of their *own magazine*: "It is to be understood by the readers of this periodical, that the Board of Missions are not responsible for the expression of editorial opinions, but simply for the accuracy of facts connected with their operations."

But lest even this extraordinary disclaimer should be supposed to involve a concealed censure on the late "editorial opinions," the resolution recommending it, and which was introduced by a Bishop from a slave State, as chairman of a committee, was preceded by another, declaring, "That, in the opinion of this Board, the Spirit of Missions has been conducted, during the *year past*, with commendable diligence and ability;" and the report of the committee accompanying these resolutions is careful to state that the periodical in question is "gaining reputation and influence, and that if it continues to be conducted with the same ability which it has *of late exhibited*, it will become a powerful auxiliary to the cause."

We make the following extract with pleasure, as it gives a clear and succinct account of the case of Mr. Crummell, which, however, probably most of our readers remember, and because it gives us an opportunity of recording our testimony as to the high character which that gentleman now maintains in this city as a man of much more than ordinary talent, of noble Christian virtues, and as a useful minister of the Gospel among his people:

Although caste had long existed among us in practice, the exclusion of Mr. Crummell from the General Theological Seminary was the first instance of its recognition, as a part of the ecclesiastical polity of the American Church. Mr. Degrass, the young man whose affecting journal is given by Bishop Wilberforce, was kept out of the Seminary by the personal influence and authority of Bishop Benjamin Onderdonk. But in Mr. Crummell, the Bishop found a more impracticable subject, and a petition for admission was presented to the assembled Trustees. The statutes of the institution rendered it imperative on the Trustees to admit all applicants possessing certain qualifications, and these qualifications the Bishop honestly informed the Board, *were possessed* by the present applicant. The Board, under these circumstances, found themselves in a dilemma. To reject the young man on *account of his complexion* would not only be illegal, but would excite remark, invite ridicule, and encourage "agitation;" and on the other hand, to admit him, would irritate a prejudice which Bishop Onderdonk had admitted to Degrass was "unrighteous;" and might also hazard the loss of Southern contributions to the Seminary. "A committee, with Bishop Henry Onderdonk, of Pennsylvania, as chairman, was appointed to consider the application; and their report was more distinguished for brevity than for wisdom. Without assigning a single reason, and without an allusion to the complexion of the applicant, they merely recommended "that the prayer of the petitioner be not granted." The report was adopted, whereupon, Bishop Doane, of New Jersey, asked permission, which was *refused*, to enter his objection on the minutes. Hence the minutes merely record the fact, that a Mr. Crummell had applied for admission into the Seminary, and was denied. They afforded no intimation that the Trustees had violated the statutes, no hint that the rejected candidate was not colored like themselves. Should any wonder why the application was rejected, the natural presumption would be, that the young man was deficient in his literary attainments or moral character, and that the Committee who reported against him had benevolently refrained from putting his delinquencies upon record. But Mr. Crummell was a poor, obscure colored man; there was no probability that his case would excite inquiry, or ever be known. Certainly the management of the Trustees was exceedingly adroit. Alas! for the wisdom of the wise, and the understanding of the prudent. In a short time the proceedings of the Board were exposed and condemned in the newspapers, not only of New-York, but of London, and now form a conspicuous and indelible portion of the "History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in America." The Bishop of New-York thought it expedient to vindicate himself in a newspaper publication, in which he condescends to propitiate the "unrighteous prejudice" by a gratuitous sneer at *aqualgamation(!)*.

Mr. Crummell sought and obtained ordination in another Diocese, and then resolved to embrace an opportunity that offered, of organizing a colored church in Philadelphia. He accordingly repaired to that city, with the usual letter dismissory from his late Diocese, and in compliance with the canon, presented it to the Bishop.—We can readily believe that this last gentleman was not gratified at finding that the young man, who, on his recommendation, had been excluded from the Seminary, now claimed a canonical residence in his own Diocese, as a brother minister of the Church. The canons allowed the Bishop no discretion. Mr. Crummell's letter was unexceptionable, and by the laws of the Church, he became entitled, on its delivery, to all the rights and privileges of a clergyman of the Diocese of Pennsylvania. But the Bishop was as independent of legal restraints in Philadelphia, as he had been in New-York. He informed Mr. Crummell that he would receive his letter, only on the condition that he would pledge himself, in his own behalf, and in behalf of his church, should he succeed in raising one, *never to apply for a seat in Convention;* and immediately proposed to *write* the pledge. He was told it was unnecessary, as the pledge could not be given.—He then positively declared he would not receive him, on which the young minister intimated his intention to return to the Diocese he had just left. Here again was an embarrassing dilemma. To disregard a dismissory letter from another Diocese, and to send back the bearer, without the slightest objection being made to his character or conduct, might lead to very inconvenient results, and would unquestionably cause much "agitation;" and, on the other hand, to admit a negro to a canonical residence, was to open the door of the Convention to him, the consequence of which would be that a minister of Christ, with a dark complexion, might sit in the council of the Church! The Bishop, to escape from this dilemma, proposed that he should inform the Convention in his address at its next meeting, that he had been admitted with the *understanding* that he was to have no seat in it. Mr. Crummell, with the same high moral courage which had hitherto marked his course, replied that he could have no agency in the matter. Thwarted in his attempts to make Mr. Crummell surrender his rights as a clergyman, the Bishop determined that others should wrest them from him; and consented to receive the dismissory letter, telling him that he would get the Convention to take some order on the subject.

We close with one other extract, and with the question—on what evidence does the writer claim for this Church, that it is a Church of Christ, while he brings forward so many proofs that it is just such a Church as Christ would reject?

Ruffian mobs had on several occasions, within the past few years, assailed the unoffending blacks in Philadelphia, sacked their dwellings, and torn down their houses of worship, and all on account of the complexion their Maker had given them. And how was this wicked, cruel prejudice against color rebuked by the Episcopal Church in Pennsylvania? Why, the Convention, at the instigation of the Bishop, "*Resolved*, That the following clause be added to the 8th revised Regulation, adopted in 1829, and hereafter to be taken as part thereof: "No church in this diocese, in like peculiar circumstances with the African Church of St. Thomas, shall be entitled to send a clergyman, or deputies to the Convention, or to interfere with the general government of the Church.'"—Thus were colored clergymen, and colored Christians, driven, in contempt, and after violation of canonical law, from the enclosure of the Church, as they had been by abandoned wretches, from the sanctuary of their homes. The Bishop, Clergy, and lay deputies of the Pennsylvania Church, make common cause with the rioters in the streets, in a general crusade against negroes and mulattoes! This act of the Convention, brands for all future time, every minister of Christ, and every member of his mystical body, who may trace his descent from the land of Cyprian, and Tertullian, as belonging to a distinct, and degraded caste, and debars them from all participation in the government of the Redeemer's Church. This act forcibly thrusts a portion of the Church into schism, and repudiates one of the fundamental conditions on which the Diocese of Pennsylvania consented, in 1784, to acknowledge a general ecclesiastical government in the United States, viz.: "That to make canons and laws, there be no other authority than that of a representative body of the clergy and laity conjointly." The great truth, "HE HATH MADE US, AND NOT WE OURSELVES," is set at naught by the Pennsylvania Convention; and in the indulgence of an "unrighteous prejudice," or in a cowardly submission to it, they have sacrificed both the independence and the unity of the Church, the dignity of the ministerial office, and that love which Christ made the badge and test of discipleship. At this lawless and profane excision of their brethren, these men attempted to veil under the strange and indefinite phraseology of "all in like peculiar circumstances with the African Church of St. Thomas!" If anything can possibly add to the shame of this transaction, it is that the vote was taken without discussion: not one single member of that large body, clergyman or layman, having the independence to rise in his place and protest against an act, at variance alike with the principles of the Church, and the precepts of its Divine Head. And what is the apology, the only apology which the Churchmen of Pennsylvania can offer for this wanton insult and oppression of their colored brethren? an apology that aggravates, instead of excusing their conduct. Popular prejudice required that colored clergymen and delegates should be excluded from the Convention! It is disheartening to the patriot, to see our public men, those to whom high and important trusts are confided, so often governing themselves, not by the immutable principles of justice and rectitude, but by the ever varying opinions of the multitude. But, oh! it is sickening to the soul, to witness the Church of Christ sacrificing to popular clamor, her own holy and glorious attribute of being a light and a guide to a benighted and a sinful world.

Mr. Tilden.

We cheerfully comply with a request to republish the subjoined correspondence, in consequence of designing and malicious persons having circulated a report that Mr. Tilden is an Abolitionist. His anticipation, last November, that nothing he could say would restrain the labors of those who knowingly slandered him, has not been disappointed:

NEW-YORK, November 1st, 1845.

SAMUEL J. TILDEN, E-q.: DEAR SIR—Having been instrumental in inducing you to consent to be a candidate for the Assembly, I may perhaps be justified in the object of this letter. Some designing individuals have insidiously circulated reports that you are an Abolitionist, and in favor of negro suffrage. Knowing myself that these rumors are unfounded, I nevertheless request your own authority for denying them. Yours, sincerely,
JOHN J. CISCO.

NEW-YORK, November 1st, 1845.

MY DEAR SIR,—Certainly you may have my authority to contradict the story to which you allude, although I do not suppose you can stop its circulation by those who, having themselves fabricated it, best know how false it is. Nothing which I have ever said or done has given the slightest pretence to the statement that I am or ever was an Abolitionist, or an advocate of negro suffrage; and both of the allegations, as you well know, are utterly untrue. Truly your friend, S. J. TILDEN.

JOHN J. CISCO, Esq.

We cut the above from the Morning News, of Saturday of last week, of which paper Mr. Tilden—a member of the Assembly from this city—was for some time assistant editor. The slanderous report no doubt originated with that portion of the party of which Slamm's Globe is the accredited organ. Mr. Tilden should have the full benefit of the denial, and so far as our columns can give it him they shall not be wanting. He *is not, and never was* an Abolitionist, nor an advocate of negro suffrage. Let it be remembered, if only to see, should he continue in public life, how long he will be proud of that reputation. Again we say—"Wait a little longer." A day of reckoning is coming for all doe-faces, when there will be a remarkable and very edifying feast of old words written and spoken.

The First Page.

In the pro-slavery column, on the first page of this week's paper, is a letter from the Rev. E. Smith, of Pittsburg, which we copy from the True Wesleyan. We copy it that it may come under the notice of S. S. Foster, an event which Mr. Smith will no doubt especially regret. There would have been some show of fairness in the case if the letter had been sent to the Standard, the organ of the society of which Mr. Foster is an agent, but appearing in the Wesleyan, its purpose is evidently to prejudice the readers of that paper not only against Mr. Foster, but those whom he represents. The charges made by Mr. Smith have probably no other ground than this—that he himself used the Anti-Slavery platform for the promulgation of his own theological views; and for the purpose of exciting prejudice against Mr. Foster, put him to a test to which he did not choose to submit. Any one who knows Stephen S. Foster, can very readily perceive how an ingenious man could make him—when absent—appear to a not particularly intelligent and very bigoted audience, as an infidel; but Mr. Foster can easily put his calumniators to flight only give him a fair field and a free fight. But we do not mean to defend him; he can do that best for himself, if he sees fit to notice this attack upon him. Will the Wesleyan let him speak to the same audience that hear the accusation?

The amusing letter from the Chronotype is a burlesque upon one of those of Mr. Lawrence, of Boston, to Mr. Rives in Virginia. The news-boys will hardly dare cry the Chronotype in Kilby street now.

We are indebted to Mr. Tilden, and also to Mr. Severance, of Maine, for a copy of the speech of the former, from which we make the extracts. The cry of disunion has come so often from Southern members, that they may not be frightened at what they may esteem the echo of their own thunder. Nevertheless they will learn by and bye that Northerners mean something when they begin to talk as Mr. Tilden does in this speech.

☞ We are glad to see by an "Appeal," which is in circulation from our friends in Western New-York, that they are earnestly at work in the common cause. The circular, we presume, was not sent us for publication, we nevertheless venture to give it a place in our columns, and earnestly invite the attention of our readers to it, in the hope that some of them at a distance, who may not otherwise see it, will be induced to extend a helping hand to those who so earnestly ask for aid:

WESTERN NEW-YORK ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The Western New York Anti Slavery Society has held its Third Anniversary, and to awaken, to inform, and to inspire the American people with a true sense of the iniquity of Slavery existing in our country, and to endeavor to interest their sympathies in the cause of the poor slave, we make this appeal to an intelligent public; confidently hoping that the hearts of the people will yet be made to beat in unison with liberty, that their eyes will be opened to perceive the evil working of oppression, and their ears unstopped to hear the cries of the down-trodden; to send forth an earnest voice and an efficient deed in behalf of the *right*, to assist with heart, hand, and purse in the destruction of the vile temple of Slavery, and in the strength of their *moral resolves* to work out the salvation of the enslaved, and to hasten the coming of that glorious day when men shall be slaves and oppressors no more.

Now is the time for every lover of liberty to weave for himself a garland of gratitude in the heart of the slave; to stretch forth his hand and raise him to the level of humanity.

To strike from his limbs the fetters that bind,
And lift the dark pall, that envelops his mind.

To accomplish this end, it is necessary that lectures should be delivered, and books and papers on the subject circulated; therefore the Executive Committee of the Western New-York Anti-Slavery Society have engaged for a lecturer and general agent, WILLIAM W. BROWN, an eloquent and efficient laborer in the anti slavery field; one who has felt in his own person the evils of Slavery, and with the strong voice of experience can tell of its horrors. While thus engaged he is dependent for his sustenance on the aid of the philanthropist; we would, therefore, ask of you to contribute of your abundance to the support of those who are laboring in the cause of our suffering brethren of the South, and to ask your friends and neighbors to do the same, however small the sum may be, and the blessing of those "who have none to help them" will rest upon you.

You are also respectfully informed that the anti-slavery ladies of the city of Rochester have determined to sacrifice their time and means for the purpose of holding a fair on Christmas week of this year, and New Year's day of next year; the proceeds of which are to be applied for the spreading of anti-slavery truth, in the most judicious way, for the benefit of the slave.

Any assistance that can be rendered them in carrying out this plan, either in useful or ornamental work from the hands of ladies, agricultural produce from the industry and kind hearts of farmers, or specimens of mechanical ingenuity from those who work in wood, brass, iron, or any other material, will be thankfully received, and give evidence that there is "still flesh in man's obdurate heart that feels for fellow-man."

Donations of any kind may be placed in the hands of the general agent, WM. W. BROWN, or directed to HENRY BUSH, Treasurer, Rochester, N. Y., also, communications may be addressed to the same persons.

JOSEPH C. HATHAWAY, President.
SARAH A. BURTIS, Secretary.

THE CONVENTION.—The returns have all been made for the choice of Delegates to the Convention, and they stand 77 Democrats to 51 Whigs. There is some hope, however, that the question of suffrage may be submitted to the people; if it is not, the colored people will lose the small advantage they now have. So much for the progress of democracy in New-York.

The American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society—new organization—hold their Anniversary in the Broadway Tabernacle, at 3 o'clock, on Tuesday afternoon, the 12th instant.

Recent Publications.

BLACKWOOD, for April, comes to us with its usual variety of entertaining matter. The papers generally declare it a very stupid number, for we thin-skinned Americans do not easily and good-naturedly bare such an excoriation as we get from the writer of "How they manage matters in the 'Model Republic.'" This article we publish entire, on our fourth page, and though it is unfair in one particular, inasmuch as it tells only one side of the story, it far better becomes us to blush that there is such a side, and that it is not overcolored, than to get angry because foreigners will not be blind to our follies and crimes, and consent to flatter us for what few virtues we possess. A people who know so well how to sing their own praises should be willing to listen sometimes to a little wholesome though unpalatable truth from abroad. A nation boasting of its democracy, while it holds one-sixth of its people in bondage, and a majority of whose representatives in the national councils are braggarts, and blackguards, or poltroons who submit to the most contemptible overseerism that ever ruled a people, deserves the derision and contempt of every other nation, let their character be what it may. The Sultan and the Czar are nothing but what they pretend to be, and they are so much the more deserving of respect than ourselves, as open and undisguised wrong, which does not pretend to be virtue, is less base than the most drivelling hypocrisy which knows that it is nothing else.

Had the writer of the article in question taken a wider range, and been more familiar with the state of things in this country, and especially the Slavery question, he might have been both more amusing and more severe. Of the character of the Abolitionists, it is evident he is utterly ignorant; nor does he at all understand the motive which governed Mr. Giddings in making the speech he did. Could he have shown his readers that after all the braggadocios of these Congressional Bombastes Furiosos they had not—the most of them—the remotest idea of going to war with England, for that would be dangerous to the slave-power, his article would have been far more valuable. As it is, however, it is very amusing reading, and we have no doubt that this number of Blackwook will, in consequence of it, meet with a very general circulation.

Slavery, and the Slaveholders' Religion; as opposed to Christianity. By Samuel Brooke.

The author has sent us this valuable pamphlet, published at Cincinnati; its title is a sufficient index to its character. The book should be in the hands of every Abolitionist. It has a wide circulation at the West, and is doing much to open the eyes of the people to the character of American Christianity. We are requested to say that it will be for sale at the Annual Meeting of the American Society.

SPEAKERS AT THE ANNIVERSARY, AT THE TABERNACLE, ON TUESDAY MORNING NEXT.

MESSRS. REMOND, PILLSBURY, PHILLIPS, GARRISON, and MRS. ABBY KELLEY FOSTER.

This Week's Paper.

FOURTH PAGE.—*Miscellany:* How they Manage Matters in "the Model Republic;" Wonders have not ceased in our times; The Camp of Israel.

FIRST PAGE.—*Pro-Slavery:* Curious Change in Twenty-five Years—Abolitionism; Mr. Stephen S. Foster and Wife. *Selections:* Emancipation in the West Indies; Henry Clay's Slaves; The Cowardly Whig Senate; Resources of Virginia—Mr. Slackbake to Mr. Clam Banks; Extracts from the Speech of D. R. Tilden, of Ohio, &c.

SECOND PAGE.—American Slavery. *Communications:* Letter from London.

GENERAL INTELLIGENCE.

Foreign.

Eight Days Later from Europe.

THE STEAMSHIP CAMBRIA ASHORE AT CAPE COD.

Intelligence that the Cambria had gone ashore at Cape Cod, near Truro, reached this city by express, on Monday evening. She went ashore in a heavy fog, on Saturday evening. There was no wind, but a heavy sea was rolling, and all efforts of those on board and the people who came to their assistance from the shore, were unavailing. All her passengers and crew it was supposed would be saved without any difficulty. The news was carried to Boston by two of the passengers, and steamers were despatched to her assistance.

The news she brings is somewhat important. Cotton had advanced considerably. The excitement in regard to the Oregon question seems to have subsided. The accounts of the famine in Ireland are truly deplorable. We extract from Wilmer & Smith's European Times:

Parliamentary.—The House of Commons met on Friday after Easter, (17th ult.) and took up the Irish Coercion bill, which had been the principal subject of discussion up to the latest advices.

Sir Robert Peel had taken an opportunity in the House to claim credit for Government for having ordered a supply of Indian corn to meet the necessities of the starving people in Ireland and England. He said that his only regret was that Government had not ordered more, but it had been deterred by its unwillingness to interfere with the regular course of business.

Speculation was still rife as to the fate of the Corn Law bill in the House of Lords. Wilmer & Smith state that it was conjectured that there would be a vote of two-thirds in favor of it in the House, but that in committee, (where proxies cannot be used,) it might be thrown out.

Narvaez, the late Minister, it is said, has been driven from Spain in consequence of his quarrel with Queen Christina.

Attempt to kill King Louis Phillippe.—News has been received by telegraph, that on Thursday, the 16th ultimo, the King was fired upon while taking his ride in the front of Fontainebleau, by a man seated upon the wall. The Queen, Princess Adelaide, the Dutchess of Nemours, the Prince and Princess of Salorne, were in the carriage with the King. Three balls cut the fringes, but no one was hurt. The Queen picked up a piece of the wadding.—The assassin was immediately arrested. His name was Lecompte, and he was an old general guardian of the forest of Fontainebleau.

Ireland.—We have still to record the receipt of alarming intelligence from the sister country, giving the detail of the approaching famine, which has already made its appearance in several parts of the country, bringing with it a train of diseases, the results of which it is very painful to contemplate. Meetings are being held in various parts to devise means to arrest the progress of the evil, and procure work and food for this now starving peasantry. A meeting of the citizens of Waterford was held on the 7th instant, the Mayor in the chair, to adopt measures to meet the existing destitution in the borough. A local Relief Committee was appointed. During the proceedings the following observations were made by Rev. Mr. Shehan: There was never such destitution in the city as there is at present. Show me a mason, a carpenter, or any other tradesman employed. The artisans have no employment, and consequently they are in a state of destitution. I took the trouble of examining the reports of the Fanning Institution, and I found that in March, 1843, potatoes of the best quality were sold at 2 1-2d. per stone; in 1844, at 4 1-2d.; in 1845, at 3 1-2d.; and now, this year, they are so high as 7d. to 8 1-2d. by retail, and it is by retail that the poor buy them. As there is no employment, and prices so very high, there must be extreme destitution." Committees have been formed at Ballyduff, Killenkere, and Balleborough, County Cavan. Accounts pour in upon us daily of the increasing distress. In many places there are no potatoes left—in none will the fast perishing root be found after May. A Castlebar paper has the following, headed Famine in Mayo: "This gaunt and long-dreaded scourge has at last broken forth. We have been written to from several parts of this extensive country, by gentlemen upon whose veracity we place the most implicit reliance, giving the most awful accounts of the sufferings of the people at this early period of the year. Even at Turlough, in the immediate neighborhood of this town, many families are at this moment, without food; and the wretched sufferers are in vain endeavoring to get provisions *in time, that their children may not die!* At the market of Castlebar, on Saturday last, provisions, which hitherto were considered reasonable, rose to an alarming height—potatoes from 2 1-2d. to 5d. per stone, and oatmeal from 13s. to 16s. per cwt."

A great riot has taken place at Clonmel, in which an attack was made on some mills and shops in that town and neighborhood, and several of them plundered by the mob. A meeting was held in the court-house of Clonmel—Captain Osborne, J. P. in the chair. A subscription list was entered into and over five hundred pounds subscribed, for the purpose of giving employment to the inhabitants in its vicinity alone.

The Repeal Association had its usual weekly meeting on Monday, April 13. Mr. O'Connell was present, and spoke very forcibly against the Coercion Bill. The rent was upward of two hundred pounds.

LATE FROM THE WEST INDIES.—We have received files of Jamaica papers by a late arrival, but find nothing in them of especial interest, except the following extract, in relation to immigration, from a letter in the Jamaica Herald, from Demarara:

Immigration has been, and still is, the sheet anchor of the colonists in British Guiana. That we are under populated there can be no doubt, and that there is room and need for thousands more people is equally evident, to me at least; but the insane, abortive, and expensive system of immigration hitherto pursued, would, one might have supposed, have mitigated to some extent the rage for this mode of peopling a country.

The Portuguese, many hundreds of whom have come here from Madeira, to cultivate the sugar cane, have almost all turned petty shop-keepers—they are a shrewd, calculating people; their little stores are throughout the country; you meet them at every turn, in their drays, loaded with fish, rice, flour, &c.; and many have realized a handsome competency since their arrival here. To a certain extent they have prevented the negroes rising into a middle class, as in Jamaica, and so far they have served the planters in confining the negroes to field labor. At a meeting of black freeholders, held in a neighboring chapel, the other evening, at which I was present, an intelligent black man said, "The Portuguese have the shops we ought to have had, but we were not wise, or they would have been working the estates, and we would have kept the shops." To a considerable extent this remark is just.

The *Hill Coolies* are very numerous here, but I can find little real satisfaction expressed concerning them—I see them wandering about on the public roads, and in the streets of George Town, seeking to be employed as house servants. Some have applied to me for this purpose, and in their broken English described their position very forcibly—"Me no Hill Coolie—me Lascar"—or "me no Hindoo—me Mussulman"—or "me have shop in Calcutta—backara captain say plenty rupee in Demarara"—or "me left wife—pickny in Madras"—or, "me no savy cutlass—me no savy hoe—me wait a house—me make tart—me make preserve—me mind backara children—me make clothes—me no savy cut cane," &c. &c. Such (and alas too similar would be the testimony of all) was the artless language of these deluded people. To one of them we showed a little kindness, and a few days after he returned with a jar of mangoes preserved beautifully in the East India fashion, and into which he had put twelve eggs to clarify the sugar! I mention this little incident as an encouragement to all to treat man as man.

"Skins may differ, but affection
Dwells in white and black the same."

The *African* tide of immigration has almost ceased to flow; I have met with many Kroomen and natives of Sierra Leone; many of them I see and converse with every week—*all*, without a single exception, tell me they intend to return to Africa, they are saving up their dollars for the purpose. "Demarara no good like for me country." "Demarara money good"—and thus, as in the case of the Hill Coolies, the capital of this country will be carried out of it, and this, the wise men of British Guiana say will make the colony richer.

Believe me, truly yours, B.
DEMARARA, West Indies, January 23, 1846.

General Items.

Excitement at Glasgow.—Barren county, Kentucky, and Glasgow, the county town, have recently been the scene of much popular excitement, in consequence of a legal proceeding which took place on the trial of Bird, a negro slave, on a charge of rape upon a poor, ignorant, but virtuous white girl. Bird having been found guilty by the jury appointed to try him, his counsel gave notice that, on a specified day, a motion would be made to allow him the *benefit of clergy*. This intimation of Bird's counsel immediately produced great and general excitement, and threats of death to the negro, and of Lynch law to his Counsel, and to the Judge, if the motion should prevail, were rife through the county. On the day named the motion was made and argued, and after two or three days of consideration on the part of the Judge, (Buckner,) he allowed the motion, and decided that, instead of hanging, Bird should be burnt in the hand, receive on his bare back thirty-nine lashes, and be set at liberty. This decision but added to the excitement previously existing. About 10 o'clock that night, sixty or seventy men, from the country proceeded to town, intending, as it was reported, to hang, or burn the negro, and inflict summary punishment on his counsel and the Judge. The latter had a few friends around him, well armed, ready and willing to defend him at all hazards. After a while the party from the country were prevailed upon to disperse, and return to their homes. Early the next morning the negro was branded, and whipped, and sent off to Bowling Green. That night, about four hundred persons from the country, ignorant of the negro's having been sent off, started toward town, determined to kill him; but hearing by the way that he was not there, they abandoned their purpose, and quiet was at length restored to the town and county.—*Nashville Whig.*

Sale of a Negro Convict.—The slave John Cross, who was recently condemned by Judge Canonge to be sold according to law, (having been formerly convicted of murder in Baltimore, and banished by the laws of Maryland from that State,) was yesterday sold by Sheriff Lewis, at the St. Louis Exchange, for cash, and brought $625. He was bought by the person who owned him at the time of his conviction at Baltimore, and who, we learn, intends to ship him back again.—*N. O. Delta.*

Eight Slaves Emancipated.—John O. Wattles of Cincinnati, has the following in a recent number of his Herald of Progression:—

"EMANCIPATION.—A good brother from near New Orleans, by the name of Sorrel, is now by my side, who, having come to the conclusion that the slave is a *man*, has sold his possessions, brought his slaves, eight in number, to this State, and knocked off their shackles, and joined with them in songs of Jubilee. And he has not only set them free, but he has bought for them a farm; and more than that, he expects to settle with them, and see that they get along; and not only in pecuniary matters, but also in education, and be to them a friend and adviser."

NOTICES.

THE RURAL FAIR.
Fourth of July at Dedham.

This effort on behalf of the cause of Freedom in MASSACHUSETTS, will be made at the "TEMPERANCE GROVE," DEDHAM, on the 4th of July.

It is the purpose of the managers to spare no exertion to redeem that day for the *present* service of righteous principle, by making it a holyday on which the whole community may enjoy with them, the pleasure of a true festival of freedom in union with the higher satisfaction of duty fulfilled, by a simultaneous exertion to aid in carrying out the principles of our forefathers.

We have made comfortable arrangements for the exhibition, and sale of a rare and valuable collection of beautiful and useful articles, such as no other opportunity can present; with fruits, flowers, and refreshments of every kind; and propose to provide such accommodations as shall make this rural festival a most happy and inviting one to all the friends from the city and surrounding country.

The Massachusetts Society intend to celebrate the day at the same time and place. Addresses from the most devoted and eloquent friends of the cause, may be expected, with vocal and instrumental music from our musical friends. More particular announcements will be given hereafter.

MARIA WESTON CHAPMAN,
ELIZA LEE FOLLEN,
For the Managers.

ANNIVERSARY NOTICE.

The Ohio American Anti-Slavery Society will hold its Annual Meeting at New Garden, Columbiana County, commencing on the 17th of June, at 10 o'clock, A. M.

Arrangements are being made for the attendance of prominent advocates of the oppressed, not only of our own, but other States; the result of which, with other particulars, will be made known previous to the meeting.

From the increasing interest in this State, we anticipate a GENERAL RALLY. We also invite our friends of Western Pennsylvania, and Eastern Indiana to be with us on that occasion, and aid in devising efficient plans of operation for the coming year.

By order of the Executive Committee of the Ohio American Anti-Slavery Society. LOT HOLMES,
Rec. Secretary.

NEW ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.

The Board of Managers of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society hereby give notice that the TWELFTH NEW ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION, will be held in Boston, on TUESDAY, the 26th of May, 1846, at 10 o'clock, A. M.; and will continue in session for three days. In performing this duty, the Board would urge upon its members, and friends, and the members, and friends of the American A. S Society, in all parts of New England, and the country, to assemble, in large numbers, for mutual counsel and encouragement, at this most important point in the history of our cause, and of our country. The triumphant supremacy of the slave power in the councils of the nation, consequent on the annexation of Texas; the dastardly submission of Massachusetts, and the other free States, to this revolutionary outrage; the guilty silence of the Church, in view of the accumulating horrors, and indefinite extension of Slavery; all demand prompt and vigorous measures on the part of those who believe, RESISTANCE TO TYRANTS, TO BE OBEDIENCE TO GOD. A prominent subject for consideration, will be the maturing, and adopting, of a system of combined, and extensive agitation for the DISSOLUTION OF

Miscellany.

From Blackwood's Magazine.

HOW THEY MANAGE MATTERS IN "THE MODEL REPUBLIC."

In the present doubtful state of our relations with the American Republic, many anxious eyes are of course being directed across the Atlantic, and much speculation excited as to the present policy and ultimate designs of that anomalous and ambitious people. Since increased facilities of communication have brought the two continents into closer union, and afforded their respective inhabitants more frequent opportunities of observing each other's political and social arrangements, it cannot, we think, be said with truth, that those in the United States have risen in favor with the enlightened minds of Europe, least of all with those of England. For the obvious failings of that Republic are of a kind eminently adapted to shock minds cast into the European mould; while her virtues, however appropriate to the transatlantic soil in which they flourish, do not either so readily suggest themselves to the notice of the Old World, or, when fully realized, command a very extraordinary degree of respect. We do not very highly appreciate the liberty which appears to us license, nor the equality which brings with it neither good manners nor good morals, nor the vast material progress which occupies the energies of her people, to the exclusion of more elevating pursuits. There are, moreover, griefs connected with the United States which come peculiarly home to British interests and prejudices; the existence of Slavery, for instance, in its most revolting form, in direct opposition to the spirit of their institutions, and to the very letter of that celebrated declaration which is the basis of all their governments; the repudiation or non-payments of debts contracted for the purposes of public works, of which they are every day reaping the advantages: and the unprincipled invasion of our Canadian frontier by their citizens during the late disturbances in that colony. Within the last few months, more particularly, they have committed many and grievous offences against their own dignity, the peace of the world, and the interests of Britain. We have heard their chief magistrate defy Christendom, and inform the world that the American continent is, for the future, to be held, as in fee-simple by the United States; we have seen Texas forcibly torn from feeble Mexico, and the negotiations on the subject of Oregon brought to a close by a formal declaration, that the American title to the whole of it is "clear and unquestionable." They have displayed, in the conduct of their foreign relations during the past year, a vulgar indifference to the opinion of mankind, and an overweening estimate of their own power, which it is at once ludicrous and painful to behold. Nor is there reason to believe that these blots on the escutcheon of a nation, so young and so unembarrased, are either deeply regretted or will be speedily effaced. We see no reaction of national virtue against national wrongdoing. For the cause of this great Republic is not, as in other countries, dependent upon the will of the one man, or the few men, who are charged with the functions of government, but on the will of the great mass of the people, deliberately and frequently expressed. The rule of the majority is in America no fiction, but a practical reality; and the folly or wisdom, the justice or injustice, of her public acts, may, in ordinary times, be assumed as fair exponents of the average good sense and morals of the bulk of her citizens.

We are not of those who charge the democratic institutions of the United States as a crime upon their people, or who think that, in separating themselves from the British crown, they were guilty of a deliberate wickedness which has yet to be expiated.—Whether that separation was fully justified by the circumstances of the time, is a question upon which, we do not propose to enter; but having so separated, it does not appear that any course was left open to them but that which they have pursued. Through the negligence of the mother country, no pains had been taken to plant even the germs of British institutions in her American colonies, and the war of Independence found them already in possession of all, and more than all, of the democratic elements of our Constitution; while the feeling of personal attachment to the sovereign had died out through distance and neglect, and the influence of the aristocracy and the Church was altogether unknown. Even in Virginia, where, in consequence of the existence of domestic slavery on a large scale, and the laws of primogeniture and entail, a certain aristocratical feeling had sprung up, a jealousy of the British crown and Parliament showed itself from first to last, at least as strongly as elsewhere; and the ink of the Declaration of Independence was scarcely dry, before those laws of property were repealed, and every vestige of an Established Church swept away.—Nothing then remained, in the absence of conservative principles and traditions, but to construct their Government upon the broadest basis of Democracy: accordingly, the triumph of that principle was complete from the first. The genius of progressive Democracy may have removed some of the slender barriers with which it has found itself accidentally embarrassed; but it has not been able to add anything to the force of those pithy abstractions which were endorsed by the most respectable chiefs of the Revolution, and which remain to sanctify its wildest aspirations.

All men, therefore, in America—that is, all *white* men—are "free and equal;" and everything that has been done in her political world for the last half century has gone to illustrate and carry out this somewhat intractable hypothesis. Upon this principle, the vote of John Jacob Astor, with his twenty-five millions of dollars, is neutralized by that of the Irish pauper just cast upon its shores. The *millionaire* counts one, and so does the dingy unit of Erin, though the former counts for himself, and the latter for his demagogue and his priest. The exclusion of women and negroes from this privilege remains, it is true, a *hiatus valde deflendus* by the choicest spirits of the Democracy. It is thought, however, that the system will shortly be completed by the addition of these new constellations. At this moment, in prospect of a convention to re-tinker the Constitution, two agitations are going on in the State of New York—one to secure the "political rights of women;" the other to extend those which negroes, under certain grievous restrictions, already enjoy.—The theory of virtual representation has been held up to these two classes of citizens with as little success as to our own Radicals. Both negroes and women throw themselves upon the broad fact of their common humanity, and indignantly demand wherefore a black skin or a gentle sex should disqualify their possessors from the exercise of the dearest privilege of freemen.

Now, however absurd this system may appear to us in the abstract, and however strongly we should resist its application to our own political case, we believe, as we said before, that the Americans have no choice in the matter but to make it work as well as possible, and that it is for the interest of the world, as well as for their own, that it should so work.—The preservation of peace, and our commercial relations with the United States, are far more important to us than the triumph of an idea. We are quite content, if they will permit us, to remain on the best of terms with our transatlantic descendants, and to see them happy and prosperous in their own way. We even think it fortunate for mankind that the principle of self-government is being worked out in that remote region, and under the most favorable circumstances, in order that the civilized world may take note thereof, and guide itself accordingly. It is, we know, a favorite theme with their demagogues, that the glory, and virtue, and happiness of Yankee-doodle doo have inspired the powers of the rotten Old World with the deepest jealousy and hatred, and that every crown in Europe pales before the lustre of that unparalleled Confederacy. Nothing can be wider of the truth, pleasing as the illusion may be to the self-love of the most vainglorious people under the sun. The *prestige* which America and her institutions once undoubtedly enjoyed in many parts of Europe is rapidly fading away, as each successive post brings fresh evidence of her vices and her follies.

We can, indeed, recollect a time when the example of the model Republic was held up for admiration in the most respectable quarters, and was the trump card at every gathering of Radical reformers. But now the scene is changed—now, "none so poor to do her reverence." Even Chartists and Suffragemen, Mr. Miall and the Northern Star, have at last

——"forgot to speak
That once familiar word."

They turn from her, and pass away as gingerly as the chorus in the Greek play from the purlieus of those ominous goddesses—

ὃς τρίμοιρα λέγειν
καὶ παραμεῖβόμεθ'
ἀέκητος ἄρματος—

Mr. O'Connell himself can find no room in his capacious affections for men who repudiate their debts, burn convents, "mob the finest pisantry," and keep a sixth of their population in chains in the name of liberty!

If "the great unwashed" on the other side of the Atlantic, will only consent to send men to their councils of moderately pure hearts and clean hands, they may rest assured that any conspiracy which the united powers of kings, nobles, and priests may devise against them, will take little by its motion.—But they do just the reverse, as we shall presently show. The profligacy of their public men is proverbial throughout the States; and the coarse avidity with which they bid against each other for the petty spoils of office, is quite incomprehensible to an European spectator. To "make political capital," as their slang phrase goes, for themselves or party, the most obvious policy of the country is disregarded, the plainest requirements of morality and common sense set aside, and the worst impulses of the people watched, waited on, and stimulated into madness.—To listen to the debates in Congress, one would think the sole object of its members in coming together, was to make themselves and their country contemptible. Owing to the rantings of this august body, and the generally unimportant character of the business brought before it, little is known of its proceedings in Europe except through the notices of some passing traveller. But its shame does not consist merely or chiefly in the occasional bowie-knife or revolver produced to clinch the argument of some ardent Western member, nor even in the unnoted interchange of compliments not usually current amongst gentlemen. Much more deplorable is the low tone of morality and taste which marks their proceedings from first to last, the ruffian-like denunciations, the puerile rants, the sanguinary sentiments poured forth day by day without check or censure. This is harsh language, yet they shall be judged out of their own mouths. We have before us a file of the *Congressional Globe*, the official record of the debates in both houses, extending from December 12, to January 15. During this period the Oregon question was called up nearly every day, and we propose to give some specimens, *verbatim et literatim* of the spirit in which it has been discussed. We shall give notices of the speakers and their constituents as we go along, to show that the madness is not confined to one particular place or party, but is common to Whig and Democrat, to the representatives of the Atlantic as well as of the Western States. Most of our European readers will, we think, agree with us, that, considering the entire absence of provocation, and the infinitely trivial nature of the matter in dispute, these rhetorical flourishes are without parallel in the history of civilized senates.

What is commonly called Oregon, is a strip of indifferent territory betwixt the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific Ocean. It is separated from both the American and British possessions by an arid wilderness of great extent, or by many thousands of miles of tempestuous navigation, *via* Cape Horn. Since 1818, the claims of both parties to this region have been allowed to lie in abeyance under a convention o joint occupancy, if the advantages enjoyed in common by a handful of traders and trappers of both nations can be so called. The settlers from both countries are still numbered by hundreds, and the soil is very ill adapted to agricultural purposes; in short, it is the last thing in the world that a decent nation would get into a passion about. Still, as the previous administration had gained much glory by completing the robbery of Texas from Mexico, Mr. Polk has thought fit to illustrate his by an attempt to squeeze and bully the sterner majesty of England.—Accordingly, in his message, he boasts of having offered less favorable terms than his predecessors; and these being of course rejected, retires with dignity upon the completeness of the American title, and intimates that the time is at hand when the rights of his country must be asserted, if necessary, by the sword. All this is new light to all the parties concerned; this tempest in a tea-pot is of Mr. Polk's own particular brewing; the real Oregon being a little political capital, as aforesaid, for himself. So far he has been eminently successful, for the fierce Democracy howls forth its applause upon the floor of Congress, in manner and form as followeth:—

Mr. Cass, *Democratic* Senator from Michigan, an *insolvent* western State, opened the ball on the 12th of December. He is said to aspire to the presidential chair, and is already a full general of militia.

We give him his civil title, however, because we find him so set down in the *Globe*, which knows best what the military one is worth. There is nothing remarkable in his speech, except the fuss which he makes about national honor. He may find it lying in the ditch, much nearer home than Oregon—

"As to receding, it is neither to be discussed nor thought of. I refer to it but to denounce it—a denunciation which will find a response in every American bosom. Nothing is ever gained by national pusillanimity. The country which seeks to purchase temporary security by yielding to unjust pretensions, buys present ease at the expense of permanent honor and safety. It sows the wind, and reaps the whirlwind. I have said elsewhere, what I repeat here, that it is better to fight for the first inch of national territory than for the last. It is better to defend the door-sill than the hearth-stone—the porch than the altar. *National character is a richer treasure than gold or silver*, and exercises a moral influence in the hour of danger, which, if not power itself, is its surest ally. *Thus far ours is untarnished*, &c.

This statement of the relative value of "national character," as compared with the precious metals, will be very edifying to the creditors of Michigan.

Mr. Sevier, *Democratic* senator from Arkansas, another *insolvent* western State, is a still richer representative of the majesty of the American Senate. This State is the head-quarters of the bowie-knife, revolver, and Judge Lynch *regime*, and Mr. Sevier's education in these particulars does not appear to have been neglected.

"It has been her (Great Britain's) bullying that has secured for her the respect of all Europe. *She is a court-house bully; and in her bullying, in my opinion, lies all her strength.* Now, she must be forced to recede; and *like any of our western bullies, who, when once conquered, can be kicked by everybody, from one end of the country to the other.* England will, in case she do not recede from her position on this question, receive once more that salutary lesson which we have on more than one occasion already taught her.' * * * * * *

"I should like very much indeed to hear any one *get on the stump*, in my part of the country, Sir, and undertake to tell us that the President had established our claims to Oregon, and made it as plain as the avenue leading to the White House; but inasmuch as there is great danger that Great Britain may capture our ships, and burn our cities and towns, it is very improper for us to give notice that we will insist upon our claim. *I need hardly say that such a one, if he could be found, would be summarily treated as a traitor to his country.*" * * *

No doubt of it. Furthermore, Mr. Sevier cannot think of arbitration, because—

"When I see such billing and cooing betwixt France and England; and when I think the Emperor of Russia may not desire to have so near his territory a set of men who read *Paine's Rights of Man*, and whistle 'Yankee-Doodle,' I feel disposed to settle the matter at once by force of gunpowder. I consider the President acted wisely—very wisely—in keeping the case in its present position, and in giving intimation of taking possession after twelve months' notice, and then to hold it. Yes, Sir, to hold it by the force of that rascally influence called gunpowder. That's my opinion. These are plain, common-sense observations which I have offered."

What a love of a Senator! We put it to the House of Lords—have they anything to show like unto this nobleman of the woods? We will now, with the permission of our readers, introduce them for a few moments to the House of Representatives. Mr. Douglass, a *Democratic* Representative from Illinois, another *insolvent* western State, wants to know why Great Britain should not be bullied as well as Mexico.

"He did hope that there would be no dodging on this Oregon question. Yes; that there would be no dodging on the Oregon question; that there would be no delay. There was great apprehension of war here last year—but of war with Mexico instead of Great Britain; and they had found men brave, and furious in their bravery, in defying Mexico and her allies, England and France, who now had an awful horror in prospect of a war with Great Britain. He (Mr. D.) had felt pretty brave last year with reference to Mexico and her allies, and he felt equally so now. He believed if we wished to avoid a war upon this Oregon question, *the only way we could avoid it was preparing to give them the best fight we had on hand.* The contest would be a bloodless one; we should avoid war, for the reason that Great Britain knows too well: if she had war about Oregon, farewell to her Canada."

Our next extract will be from the speech of Mr. Adams, a *Whig* Representative from, we regret to say, Massachusetts, which is, in every respect, the pattern State of the Union. We are willing to believe that in this single case the orator does not represent the feelings of the majority of his constituents. Mr. Adams has filled the Presidential chair, and other high offices; and, while Secretary of State, permitted to say on a public occasion, that the madness of George the Third was a divine infliction for the course that monarch had pursued towards the United States. The ruling passions of his life are said to be, hatred to England and to his Southern brethren; and he thinks that war would gratify both these malignant crotchets at once, as the former would, in that contingency, lose Canada, and the latter their slaves. He urges that notice to terminate the convention of joint occupation should be given, and then observes:—

"We would only say to Great Britain, after negotiating twenty odd years under that convention, we do not choose to negotiate any longer in this way. We choose to take possession of our own, and then, if we have to settle what is our own, or whether any portion belongs to you, we may negotiate. We might negotiate after taking possession. That was the military way of doing business. It was the way in which Frederick II. of Prussia had negotiated with the Emperor of Austria for Silesia. [Here Mr. A. gave an account of the interview of Frederick the Great with the Austrian minister, and of the fact of Frederick having sent his troops to take possession of that province the very day that he had sent his minister to Vienna to negotiate for it.] Then we should have our elbows clear, and could do as we pleased. It did not follow as a necessary consequence that we should take possession; but he hoped it would follow as a consequence, and a very immediate one. But whether we give the notice or not, it did not necessarily draw after it hostility or war. If Great Britain chose to take it as an indication of hostility, and then to commence hostilities, why, we had been told that there would be but one heart in this country; and God Almighty grant that it might be so! If this war come—which God forbid! and of which, by the way, he had no apprehensions whatever—he hoped the whole country would go into it with one heart and one mighty hand; and, if that were done, he presumed the question between us and Great Britain would not last long; neither Oregon, nor any country north of this latitude, would long remain to Great Britain. Strong as was his moral aversion to war, modern war and military establishments, then, if he should have the breath of life at the time when the war commences, he hoped he should be able and willing to go as far in any sacrifices necessary to make the war successful, as any member of that House. He could say no more."

This profligate drivel is uttered by the Nestor of the Commonwealth, an infirm old man, with one foot in the grave. In order, however, to make the course pursued by this gentleman and the next speaker intelligible to the English reader, we may explain that, by the annexation of Texas, the Southern States have a majority of votes in Congress; the Northern States are therefore indifferent about war for Oregon, and the Abolitionists among them frantic for it, in order that their domestic balance of power may be restored. Mr. Giddings, a *Whig* Representative from Ohio, and a red-hot Abolitionist, indulges in the following most wicked and treasonable remarks:—

"This policy of adding territory to our original Government is the off-spring of the South. They have forced it upon the Northern democracy. Their objects and ends are now answered. Texas is admitted. They have now attained their object, and now require the party to face about—to step short, and leave the power of the nation in their hands. They now see before them the black regiments of the West India Islands landed on their shores. They now call to mind the declarations of British statesmen, that a war with the United States will be a war of emancipation. They now see before them servile insurrections which torment their imaginations; murder, rapine, and bloodshed, now dance before their affrighted visions. Well, Sir, I say to them, this is your policy, not mine. You have prepared the cup, and I will press it to your lips till the very dregs shall be drained. Let no one misunderstand me. Let no one say I desire a slave insurrection; but, Sir, I doubt not that hundreds of thousands of honest and patriotic hearts will laugh at your calamity, and mock when your fear cometh. No, Sir; should a servile insurrection take place, should massacre and blood mark the footsteps of those who have for ages been oppressed—my prayer to God shall be that justice, stern, unalterable justice—may be awarded to the master and the slave?" . . . . "A war with England in the present state of the two nations must inevitably place in our possession the Canadas, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick. Six States will be added to the northern portion of the Union, to restore the balance of power to the free States. . . . . I demand of you not to leave the nation in its present state of subjugation to the South. I will vote to give you the means of doing so," &c.

We hold up the ferocious cant of this mock philanthropist to the scorn of all good men, whether in Europe or America. So, because "the domestic institution" of his happy land is not to the taste of this Giddings, thousands of white men are to imbrue their hands in each other's blood, and England, the great champion of the negro race, at her own expense, is to be driven by force of arms out of Oregon. It is consolinz, however, to find at last, by their own confession, that there is a weak place—and a very weak one too—in "the area of freedom."

Besides the acquisition of Canada, which is put down on all hands as a "gone 'coon," other brilliant results are to ensue from the possession of Oregon. Mr. Ingersoll, (*Dem.*) "a drab-colored man," from Pennsylvania—"flattered himself that two years would not elapse, before the Chinese and Japanese—sober, industrious, and excellent people—would be attracted there to settle. It was only a short voyage across the Pacific Ocean. Millions of those starving workmen, who, in point of sobriety, industry, and capacity, were among the best in the world—workmen from every isle in the Pacific—men able to outwork the English, would flock there."

In the same fine strain of prophecy, Mr. Darragh, another "*drab*" of the *Democratic* school, observes:—

"He was one of those who believed that there were men now here, who might yet live to see a continuous railroad extending from the mouth of the Columbia to the Atlantic. The country would soon be filled with a dense population, and would eventually control the China trade, and affect the whole commerce of the Pacific. He trusted in God there would be a beginning of this end. He trusted that this Government would say to the despotisms of Europe—Stay on your own side of the water, and do not attempt to intermeddle with the balance of power on this continent. He believed it to be the design of God that our free institutions, or institutions like ours, should eventually cover this whole continent—a consummation which could not but affect every part of the world, and the prospect of which ought to fill with joy the heart of every philanthropic man!"

But it won't, till you 've paid your debts, O Darragh!

Mr. Baker, (*Whig,*) another *insolvent*, from Illinois, is very rich and rapacious:—

"He (Mr B.) went for the whole of Oregon; for every grain of sand that sparkled in her moonlight, and every pebble on its wave-worn strand. It was ours—all ours; ours by treaty, ours by discovery. . . . . There was such a thing as destiny for this American race—a destiny that would yet appear upon the great chart of human history. It was already fulfilling, and that was a reason why we could now refuse to Great Britain that which we had offered her in 1818 and 1824. Reasons existed now, in our condition, which did not exist then. Who at that time could have divined that our boundary was to be extended to the Rio del Norte, if not to Zacatecas, to Potosi, to California? No, we had a destiny, and Mr. B felt it." . . . . "Cuba was the tongue which God had placed in the Gulf of Mexico, to dictate commercial law to all who sought the Carribean Sea. And England was not to be allowed to take Cuba, or hold Oregon, *because we, the people of the United States, had spread, were spreading, and intend to spread, and should spread, and go on to spread!*" . . . . "Mr. Speaker, if from this claim an echo shall come back, it may not come from Oregon, but it will come from the Canadas. Sir, it will be 'the last echo of a host o'erthrown.' The British power will be swept from this continent forever; and though she may, 'like the sultan sun, struggle upon the fiery verge of heaven,' she must yield at last to the impulses of freedom, and to the touch of that destiny which shall crush her, ower in the Western hemisphere!"

This may be considered bad to beat; yet, in our opinion, a choice spirit from Missouri, SIMS by name, does it:—

"It is so common on this floor, for inexperienced members to make apologies for their embarrassment, that I will not offer any for mine. I find some difficulty in getting along with all the questions that may be raised by the North or by the South, and by lawyers, and by metaphysicians, and learned doctors, who abound here, that I shall be slow in getting along. I hope, therefore, that gentlemen will keep cool, and suffer me to get through."

Certainly, Sims—there is no false modesty, you will observe, in this good Sims. He thus defines his position:—

"I wish it to be distinctly understood what banner I fight under. *It is for Oregon, all or none, now or never!* Not only *I myself*, but all my own people whom I represent, will stand up to this motto. Around that will we rally, and for it will we fight, *till the British lion shall trail in the dust. The lion has covered before us before. Talk of whipping this nation!* Though not, Sir, brought up in the tented field, nor accustomed to make war an exercise, and do not so much thirst for martial renown as to desire to witness such a war, yet I cannot fear it, nor doubt its success."

A touching episode in the life of Sims!—

"When I was a boy, Sir—a small boy—in 1815, I was with my father, in church, where he was offering his prayers to the Almighty, and it was then that the news of the victory of New Orleans was brought to the spot. *I never felt so happy, Sir, as at that moment.* At that moment my love of country commenced, and from that hour it has increased more and more every year; and I shall be ever ready to peril everything in my power for the good of my country. Still, I am for the whole of Oregon, and for nothing else but the whole; and in defence of it I will willingly see every river, from its mountain source to the ocean, reddened with the blood of the contest. Talk about this country being whipped! The thing is impossible! Why did not Great Britain whip us long ago, if she could?" * * * * * *

"I shall lose as much as any one in a war—*I do not mean in property*—but I have a wife and children, and I love them with all the heart and soul that I possess. No one can love his family more than I do mine, unless a stronger intellect may give him more strength of affection; and my family will be exposed to the merciless savages, who will, as ever, become the allies of Great Britain in any war. But still, Sir, my people on the frontier will press on to the mouth of the Columbia, and fight for Oregon. *I am not sure but I will go myself.*"

The feelings of the female Sims, and all the little Simses, on reading that last sentence! We shudder to think of it. Sims, however, has made up his mind that the exploit is no great matter after all.

"It was said that the route to Oregon was impracticable, and that it was beset with dangerous enemies, and that we could not send troops over to Oregon, nor provisions to feed them. Now, Sir, we of Missouri can fit out ten thousand wagon-loads of provisions for Oregon, and ten thousand wagon-boys to drive them, who, with their wagon-whips, will beat and drive off all the British and Indians that they find in their way."

The peroration of this harangue is, perhaps, the funniest part of it all, but want of space compels us to omit it. We let Sims drop with great reluctance, and pass over several minor luminaries who are quite unworthy to follow in his wake. Now, ladies and gentlemen, we are about to introduce to you Mr. Kennedy, a *Democratic* Representative from Indiana—a *very insolvent* Western State, and a celebrated "British or any other lion" tamer.

"Sir, (says Mr. K.) when the British lion, or any other lion, lies down in our path, we will not travel round the world in blood and fire, but will make him leave that lair." * * *

After this mysterious announcement, he inquires:

"Shall we pause in our career, or retrace our steps, because the British lion has chosen to place himself in our path? Has our blood already become so pale, that we should tremble at the roar of the king of beasts? We will not go out of our way to seek a conflict with him; but if he cross our path, and refuses to move at a peaceful command, *he will run his nose on the talons of the American eagle, and his blood will spout as from a harpooned whale. The spectators who look upon the struggle may prepare to hear a crash, as if the very ribs of nature had broke!*" * * *

Once more into the lion—or lioness—for it does not appear exactly which this time!

We are one people and one country, and have one interest and one destiny, which, if we live up to, *though it may not free us to follow the British lion round the world in blood and slavery*, will end in *her* expulsion from this continent, which *he* rests not upon but to pollute!"

Mr. Kennedy's solicitude for the rising generation is very touching:—

"Where shall we find room for all our people, unless we have Oregon? What shall we do with all those little white-headed boys and girls—God bless them!—that cover the Mississippi valley, as the flowers cover the western prairies?"

In order to show the truly awful and more than Chinese populousness of this ancient State of Indiana, which was admitted into the Union so long ago as 1816, we may observe that its superficial extent is thirty-six thousand square miles, or twenty-three millions and forty thousand acres. The population in 1840, black and white all told, amounted to the astounding number of six hundred and eighty-five thousand eight hundred and sixty-six, or about one-third of that of London! The adjoining States of Illinois and Missouri are still less densely peopled.

Mr. Kennedy's opinions touching the British Government:—

"Cannibal-like, it fed one part of its subjects upon the other. She drinks the blood and sweat, and tears the sinews of its laboring millions to feed a miserable aristocracy. England is now seen standing in the twilight of her glory; but a sharp vision may see written upon her walls, the warning that Daniel interpreted for the Babylonish king—'Mene, mene, tekel, upharsin!'"

We cannot help the confusion of genders. It's so writ down in the *Globe*, as are all our quotations, *verbatim*. Here comes a fine "death or glory" blast:—

"Why is it that, after all, we should so dread the shock of war? We all have to die, whether in our beds or in the battle-field. Who of you all, when roused by the clangor of Gabriel's trump, would not rather appear in all the bloom of youth, bearing upon your front the scar of the death-wound received in defence of your country's right, than with the wrinkled front of dishonored age?"

Hoorra!—Only one more quotation from Kennedy, and that because it permits us to take a last fond look at Sims, who re-appears, for a moment, like a meteor on the scene of his past glories!

"Was it not a burning, blistering, withering shame, that the cross of St. George should be found *floating* on American *soil*?" [Here Mr. L. H. Sims exclaimed, "Yes, and it will blister on our foreheads like the mark of Cain!"]

Mr. Hamlin, a Democratic Representative from Maine, one of the pattern New England States, is not far behind his Western brethren:—

"Their progress was as certain as destiny. He could not be mistaken in the idea, that our flag was destined to shed its lustre over every hill and plain on the Pacific slope, and on every stream that mingles with the Pacific. What would monarchical institutions do—what would tyrants do—in this age of improvement—*this age of steam and lightning? The still small voice in our legislative halls*, and seminaries of learning, would soon be re-echoed in distant lands. Should we fold our arms and refuse, under all these circumstances, to discharge our duty? No; let us march steadily up to this duty, and discharge it like men;

'And the gun of our nation's natal day,
At the rise and set of sun,
Shall boom from the far Northeast away
To the vales of Oregon.
And ships on the seashore luff and tack,
And send the peal of triumph back.'"

Mr. Stanton, a Democratic Representative from the slave State of Tennessee—Polk's own—observes, that war about Oregon

"Would be another crime of fearful magnitude added to that already mountainous mass of fraud and havoc by which England has heretofore extended her power, and by which she now maintains it. Did some gentlemen say that her crimes were represented by a vast pyramid of human skulls? I say, Sir, rather by a huge pyramid of human hearts, living, yet bleeding in agony, as they are torn from the reeking bosoms of the toiling, fighting millions."

Peace, this person observes, is rather nearer his heart than anything else, but

"If she must depart, if she is destined to take her sad flight from earth to heaven again, then welcome the black tempest of war. Welcome its terrors, its privations, its wounds, its deaths! We will sternly bare our bosoms to its deadliest shock, and trust in God for the result."

After all this, our readers will be little surprised to find that a Mr. Gordon, from the rich and partially civilized State of New-York, whose commercial relations with us are of such magnitude and importance, makes an ass of himself with the best of them.

"The next war with Great Britain will expel her from this continent. Though a peace-loving people, we are, when aroused in defensive warfare, the most warlike race ever clad in armor. Let war come, if it will come, boldly and firmly will we meet its shock, and roll back its wave on the fast anchored isle of Britain, and dash its furious flood over those who raised the storm, but could not direct its course. In a just war, as this would be on our part, the sound of the clarion would be the sweetest music that could greet our ears! . . . . *I abhor and detest the British Government.* Would to God that the British people, the Irish, the Scotch, the Welsh, and the English, would rise up in rebellion, sponge out the national debt, confiscate the land, and sell it in small parcels among the people. *Never in the world will they reach the promised land of equal rights, except through a red sea of blood.* Let Great Britain declare war, and I fervently hope that the British people, at least the Irish, will seize the occasion to rise and assert their independence. . . . I again repeat, that *I abhor that Government; I abhor that purse-proud and pampered aristocracy, with its bloated pension-list, which for centuries past has wrung its being from the toil, the sweat, and the blood of that people.*"

Mr. Brinkerhoff, from Ohio, and his people—

"Would a great deal rather fight Great Britain than some other powers, for *we do not love her.* We hear much said about the ties of our common language, our common origin, and our common recollections, binding us together. But I say, *we do not love Great Britain at all; at least my people do not, and I do not.* A common language! It has been made the vehicle of an incessant torrent of abuse and misrepresentation of our men, our manners, and our institutions, and even our women—it might be vulgar to designate our plebeian girls as *ladies*—have not escaped it; and all this is popular, and encouraged in high places."

Mr. Chipman, from Michigan, thus whistles Yankee-doodle, with the usual thorough-base accompaniment of self-conceit:—

"Reflecting that from three millions we had increased to twenty millions, we could not resist the conclusion, that Yankee enterprise and vigor—he used the term Yankee in reference to the whole country—were destined to spread our possessions and institutions over the whole country. Could any act of the Government prevent this? He must be allowed to say, that wherever the Yankee slept for a night, there he would rule. What part of the globe had not been a witness of their moral power, and to the light reflected from their free institutions?"

Your Yankee proper can no more "get along" without his spice of cant, than without his chew of tobacco, and his nasal twang. What follows, however, took even us by surprise:—

"Should we crouch to the British lion, because he had been thus prosperous? He remembered the time when education, the pride of the Northern Whigs, was made the means of opposition to the democracy. He recollected the long agony that it cost him to relieve his mind from federal thraldom. EDUCATION WAS AN INSTRUMENT TO RIDICULE AND PUT DOWN DEMOCRACY."

What Mr. Chipman would do—*if*—

"I appeal to high Heaven, that if a British fleet were anchored off here, in the Potomac, and demanded of us one inch of territory, or one pebble that was smoothed by the Pacific wave into a child's toy, upon penalty of an instant bombardment, I would say fire." * * * * *

"Now he (Mr. C.) lived on the frontier. He remembered when Detroit was sacked. Then we had a Hull in Michigan; but now, thank God! we had a Lewis Cass, who would protect the border if war should come, which, in his opinion, would not come. There were millions on the lake frontier who would, in case of war, rush over into Canada—the vulnerable point that was exposed to us. He would pledge himself, that, upon a contract with the Government, Michigan alone would take Canada in ninety days; and, if that would not do, they would give it up, and take it in ninety days again. The Government of the United States had only to give the frontier people leave to take Canada."

Though Michigan has the benefit of this hero's councils, he is at the pains to inform us that Vermont, a New England State, claims his birth, parentage, and education—a fact which we gladly record on the enduring page of Maga for the benefit of the future compiler of the Chipman annals. He closes an oration, scarcely, if at all, inferior to that of Sims, with a melodious tribute to the land of his nativity.

"If Great Britain went to war for Oregon, how long would it be before her starving millions would rise in infuriated masses, and overwhelm their bloated aristocracy! He would say, then, if war should come—

'Hurrah for Vermont! for the land which we till
Will have some to defend her from valley and hill;
Leave the harvest to rot on the field where it grows,
And the reaping of wheat for the reaping of foes.

'Come Mexico, England! come tyrant, come knave,
If you rule o'er our land, ye shall rule o'er our grave!
Our vow is recorded—our banner unfurled,
In the name of Vermont, we defy all the world!'"

Magnifique—superbe—pretty well! Would not the world like to know something of the resources of this unknown anthropophagous State which throws down the gauntlet so boldly? Well, in this very year of grace, the population of Vermont amounts to no less than three hundred thousand souls, of all ages, sexes, and colors! She pays her Governor the incredible sum of one hundred and sixty pounds a year. Her exports in 1840 amounted to sixty thousand pounds. Everything about her is on the same homœopathic scale, except her heroes!

We have by no means exhausted our file, but our patience is expended, and so we fear is that of our readers. We write this in the city of New-York, in the first week of February, and the debate is still proceeding in a tone, if possible, still more outrageous and absurd. The most astounding feature of the whole is, that the "collective wisdom" of any country professing to be civilized, can come together day after day and listen to such trash, without censure—without even the poor penalty of a sneer.

The Americans complain that they have been grievously misrepresented by the British press. Mrs. Trollope, Mr. Dickens, and other authors, are no doubt very graphic and clever in their way: but in order to do this people full justice, they must be allowed to represent themselves. A man must go amongst them fully to realize how hopeless and deplorable a state of things is that phase of society which halts betwixt barbarism and civilization, and is curiously deficient in the virtues of both. If he wishes to form a low idea of his species, let him spend a week or two at Washington; let him go amongst the little leaders of party in that preposterous capital, watch their little tricks, the rapacity with which they clutch the meanest spoils, and wonder how political profligacy grows fat upon diet so meagre and uninviting. He will come away with a conviction, already indorsed by the more respectable portion of the American community, that their Government is the most corrupt under the sun; but he will not, with them, lay the flattering notion to his soul, that the people of whom such men are the chosen representatives and guides, are likely to contribute much to the aggregate of human happiness, freedom, and civilization.

As to the denunciations of Great Britain, so thickly strewn through these *carmina non prius audita* of the Congressional muse, we are sure they will excite no feeling in our readers but that of pity and contempt, and that comment upon them is unnecessary. The jealousy of foreign nations towards the arts and arms of his country, is no new experience to the travelled Englishman. Still, as the Americans have no reason to be particularly sore on the subject of our arms, and as they appropriate our arts, at a very small expense, to themselves, they might afford, we should think, to let the British lion alone, and glorify themselves without forever shaking their fists in the face of that magnanimous beast. In a political point of view, however, the deep-seated hostility of this people towards the British Government, is a fact neither to be concealed nor made light of. From a somewhat extended personal observation, the writer of this is convinced that war at any time, and in any cause, would be popular with a large majority of the inhabitants of the United States. It is in vain to oppose to their opinion the interests of their commerce, and the genius of their institutions, so unsuited to schemes of warlike aggrandizement. The Government of the United States is in the hands of the mob, which has as little to lose there as elsewhere, by convulsion of any kind.

We are willing to believe that the person who at present fills the Presidential chair at Washington, is fully alive to the responsibilities of his situation, and would gladly allay the storm which himself and his party have heretofore formed for their own most unworthy purposes. He knows full well that the dispute is in itself of the most trumpery nature; that the course of Great Britain has been throughout moderate and conciliatory to the last degree; that the military and financial position of the United States is such as to forbid a warlike crisis; and that, if hostilities were to ensue betwixt Great Britain and his country, no time could be more favorable to the former than the present. Yet, with all these inducements to peace, we fear he will find it impossible to bring matters to a satisfactory termination. But should an opportunity occur of taking us at disadvantage—should we find ourselves, for instance, involved in war with any powerful European nation—we may lay our account to have this envious and vindictive people on our backs. We are not, therefore, called upon to anticipate the trial, and to take the course of events into our own hands; but still less ought we to make any concessions, however trifling, which may retard, but will eventually exasperate, our difficulties. Much is in our power on the continent of North America, if we are but true to our own interests and to those of mankind. We should cherish to the utmost that affectionate and loyal spirit, which at present so eminently distinguishes our flourishing colony of Canada; we should look to it, that such a form of Government be established in Mexico as shall at once heal her own dissensions, and guarantee her against the further encroachments of her neighbors; and we should invite other European nations to join with us in informing the populace of the United States, that they cannot be indulged in the gratification of those predatory interests, which the public opinion of the age happily denies to the most compact despotisms and the most powerful empires.

From the Tribune.

WONDERS HAVE NOT CEASED IN OUR TIMES.

A new gush of lava is seen from Vesuvius; that is a brilliant show, but no wonder, because seen so often that it ceases to move the gazer with a sense of mystery. But manna is now falling once more from Heaven, and we have only to regret that it is not to further the great designs of a Moses.

[Translated from the Schnellpost.]

"A remarkable phenomenon is announced by the gazettes of Constantinople, which all agree in the report—i. e.—that in Asia Minor, in the District of Jenischehir and those of Siwrihissar, Eski Schehir and Seicli Gazi, manna has fallen from Heaven. The *Courrier of Constantinople* contains this notice:—'Letters from Jenischewir informs us that, for some time back, manna has been falling from Heaven, and has supplied the inhabitants with nourishment. They grind it to flour and bake it in the same way as bread, nor is it inferior to what we usually eat.'

"The *Journal de Constantinople* says:—'The same phenomenon which was observed at Ban in 1841, is now repeated in the District of Jenischehir, with similar and no less extraordinary circumstances. It appears, from the testimony of persons of all modes of religious faith, that after a season of partial famine, the same marvel that happened in behalf of the people of Israel has occurred again. A shower has fallen from Heaven of substances about the size of hail-stones, not unlike the tear-form manna, and pleasant to the taste. It fell in such quantity as to lie three or four inches thick on the ground, and served the people as food for many days.'"

THE "CAMP OF ISRAEL."—This is the "title and address" which has been adopted by the company of Mormons now on their way Westward.

A mail carrier arrived here on Monday last from the camp, and reported the pioneer party, or head of the column, as having crossed the tributaries of the Chariton river, over one hundred and fifty miles distant. By this time they are probably on the banks of the Missouri.

Thus far, everything has gone favorably, with the exception of the breaking down of a few overladen wagons.

If they ever reach California, their dependence must be partly upon slow travelling and partly upon *miracle*—but *chiefly* upon the latter.

It is the intention of at least some of the companies that leave this Spring to halt in the valley of the Sweetwater river, and put